

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY ACTS SECTION

SUBJECT: VVAW ✓

FILE NO: HQ 100-448092

SECTION: 7.5

PAGES REVIEWED: 225

PAGES RELEASED: 217

REFERRALS:

EXEMPTIONS: b1, b2, b7C, b7D, b6

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR005 MI COOE

5:14PM NITEL 9/8/75 LSK

SEP 08 1975

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) TELETYPE

SAC, CHICAGO (100-50772)

FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (100-15674) (P)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO). IS - VVAW/WSO. OO: CHICAGO.

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 BY VIETNAM VETERANS. THE NAME  
OF THIS ORGANIZATION WAS CHANGED TO VVAW/WSO IN 1973, TO INCLUDE  
NON-VETERANS. IT HAS SPONSORED NUMEROUS ANTI-GOVERNMENT  
DEMONSTRATIONS, SOME RESULTING IN VIOLENCE. RECENTLY, THIS  
ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN CLOSELY AFFILIATED WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY  
UNION (RU).

THE RU, FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968 IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY  
AREA, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY  
ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED TOWARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA (PRC) AND THE TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG.

THE DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION AND  
SUPPORTED BY THE RU WAS OBSERVED BY SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI  
END PAGE ONE

clean copy to VA  
9/15/75 LER/ADB  
by r/s

REC-33

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PAGE TWO

MI 100-15674

ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1975. APPROXIMATELY 20 INDIVIDUALS GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA) REGIONAL OFFICE AT 342 NORTH WATER STREET, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AND STARTED A PICKET LINE AT APPROXIMATELY 8:35 AM. THE PICKET LINE CONSISTED MAINLY OF CHANTING VARIOUS ANTI VA SLOGANS. THIS DEMONSTRATION WAS IN SUPPORT OF DENNIS (TED) STREIT, A VIETNAM VETERAN WHO WAS APPEARING BEFORE VA BOARD IN AN ATTEMPT TO NULLIFY A FIFTY PERCENT CUT IN HIS DISABILITY. THE PICKET LINE BROKE UP AT APPROXIMATELY 9:25 AM AND EVERYONE ENTERED THE VA BUILDING TO ATTEND THE HEARING.

A SOURCE WHO HAS SUPPLIED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, WAS CONTACTED ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1975, AND ADVISED THAT DEMONSTRATION WAS ORDERLY WITH NO CONFRONTATIONS TAKING PLACE AND NO ARRESTS MADE.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

RE MILWAUKEE NITEL TO DIRECTOR, AUGUST 28, 1975.

SOURCE IS DETECTIVE [REDACTED] b7C b7D

MILWAUKEE PD.

IN VIEW THAT NO CONFRONTATIONS OR ARRESTS WERE MADE, NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

ENO.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>CHICAGO</b>	DATE <b>9/17/75</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>9/8-16/75</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] LTC</b>	TYPED BY <b>kah</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>INTERNAL SECURITY</b>	

REFERENCE: Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 3/3/75 at San Francisco.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished Chicago (origin) and Los Angeles for information purposes.

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect **[REDACTED]** and **[REDACTED]** through **[REDACTED]**.

This matter is being closed. **[REDACTED]**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:  PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
APPROVED <b>CWB RB</b>						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		
COPIES MADE:						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
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1-Chicago (100-50772) (RM)								
1-Los Angeles (100-77703) (Info) (RM)								
1-San Francisco (100-71012)						7 SEP 24 1975		
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How Fwd.								
By								

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The FBI Agent who observed the VVAW/USO sponsored demonstration on 3/29/75 was SA [REDACTED] b7C

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[REDACTED]

(C) 51

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Copy to:

Report of: [REDACTED]

Date: 9/17/75

57C

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 100-71012

Bureau File #: 100-448092

Title: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE  
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY

Synopsis: The California-Nevada Regional Office of the VVAW/WSO is located at 255 E. Williams St., San Jose, Calif. San Francisco Bay Area VVAW/WSO chapters expelled from the organization in the spring of 1975. San Francisco Bay Area chapters' activities set forth.

- C -

DETAILS: AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Information in this report is not classified except where marked.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) will be abbreviated throughout this report as VVAW/WSO (see appendix).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY 7087

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2

DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION: INDEFINITE

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

I. LOCATION

The California-Nevada Regional Office of the VVAW/WSO is located at 255 E. Williams Street, San Jose, California.

[REDACTED] 9/8/75

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II. ACTIVITIES

A. Regional Conference

The VVAW/WSO held a Regional Conference in San Jose on May 31, 1975. This was an Anti-Imperialist Caucus Regional Conference, meaning all those chapters in California who did not agree with the National Office or with the Revolutionary Union (RU) (see appendix) were present. Workshops were formed and reported on, such as Indo-China Reconstruction, Chapter Coordinators, Vets Organizing, and Political Prisoners. It was stated to those present that the split with the RU is permanent and nothing would be gained or worth it to attempt to attend the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee (NSC) meeting in Milwaukee in July, 1975.

[REDACTED] 6/26/75

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A VVAW/WSO Regional Conference was held on July 26, 1975, in Berkeley, California. The regional chapters made reports to those present.

1. East Bay Chapter

It was reported that the East Bay chapter for the last six months has focused on educationals, both external and internal, and passed out leaflets in the GI area of work.

2. Santa Cruz Chapter

They have focused on community work, however, decline in chapter participation has resulted in a breakdown in the committee's effectiveness and lack of direction in the organization problems in the staffing of the office. The chapter has had four re-evaluation sessions.

3. Mid-Peninsula Chapter (Palo Alto Area)

It was reported that this is a new chapter and has been working with the "Drug Collective" in the Palo Alto area.

4. San Jose Chapter

It was reported that this chapter has worked in the legal defense area, but the main problem is isolation from the community.

5. San Francisco Chapter

The San Francisco chapter has worked to raise funds for the reconstruction of Vietnam. The chapter lacks mass work because of a lack of recruitment.

6. South Bay Chapter (Los Angeles Area)

This chapter reported it has found it hard to recruit in the community.

It was stated to those present that the organization is in a transition split due to the internal problem and the liberation of Indo-China. It was also stated that the organization needs to reconstruct and reorganize.

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B. Sub-Regional Meetings

A VVAW/WSO Sub-Regional Conference was held in Berkeley, California, March 16, 1975. The East Bay chapter reported that the chapter has gone to a committee structure and that the political education committee is fairly active, however, many of the other committees are stagnant. (C)

The San Jose chapter reported they have gone to the committee structure. They have a Marxist-Leninist study group and the chapter has been involved in a coalition against racism, but pulled out when the coalition was taken over by the RU. (C)

The San Francisco chapter reported that it is reorganizing. (C)

The Santa Cruz chapter is attempting to recruit in the schools and colleges in the community. The chapter has worked closely with the United Farm Workers and is also working with the coalition in the community against ageism, sexism and racism. It was stated to those present that the



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Regional Office is broke and also that a summary of chapter activities and practice report would be sent to the National Office and that representatives would be sent to the National Conference to be held in Chicago in April, 1975, dealing with the principles of unity. (X)

An Anti-Imperialist Caucus report was read to those present. This report came out against the RU, as well as its sympathizers. All RU and sympathizers were excluded from the Anti-Imperialist Caucus conference. (X)

During this meeting, there were constant references of conflict with the RU within the chapters. (X)

[REDACTED] 3/21/75

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A VVAW/WSO sub-regional meeting was held in Marin County, California, on May 11, 1975. RU members were invited, but none showed up. A Regional Office report was read to those present and it stated that internal funding has collapsed; also, that there was no doubt the FBI is very interested in the split in Northern California of the VVAW/WSO with the National Office and the RU. (X)

A working paper statement by the expelled VVAW/WSO chapters explaining their position and why the split was read to those present. A copy of the statement will be sent to the various organizations in the Bay Area and across the country, as well as to the National Office. (X)

[REDACTED] 5/19/75

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#### C. General VVAW/WSO

Source advised on June 5, 1975, that an Anti-Imperialist Caucus (AIC) meeting was scheduled for June 27-30, 1975, at St. Louis, Missouri, by those chapters of the VVAW/WSO who do not support the RU leadership of the National Office. The meeting will attempt to solidify the AIC VVAW chapter's position regarding their desire to rid the VVAW/WSO of the RU control.

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The main theme developed at the Caucus was the desire of the members present to form a new national organization

whose purpose would be to take up an armed revolution against the U. S., which would be communist supported but not controlled by the RU. The new organization formed as a result of the Caucus would continue to operate under the temporary title of the National Anti-Imperialistic Forces (NAIF) until a new name could be decided upon. The Caucus decided to use the radical newspapers "White Lightning" and "Seize the Time" to help bring about the formation of this new organization.

The constitution and a formal name for the new organization will be drawn up by the California Chapter with the assistance of the St. Louis and New York Chapters. The proposed constitution and the new name for the organization will then be furnished to the members of the chapters that were present at the Caucus and also to the chapters that sent their support but were not present.

The representatives at the Caucus distributed various pieces of literature explaining the reasons that the VVAW/WSO chapters in the U. S. are no longer functioning in view of the takeover of the National Offices of the VVAW/WSO by members of the RU. The representatives present spoke out strongly against the RU and indicated that the VVAW/WSO would cease to exist as an organization by the end of 1975.

The Caucus adopted a temporary name of the NAIF to use to represent the groups present. The Northern California Chapter, the St. Louis Chapter and the St. Paul, Minnesota Chapter did not adopt the new name and stated they would continue to call themselves the VVAW/WSO.

[REDACTED] 8/5/75

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Source advised June 2, 1975, that a VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee meeting would be held July 3-8, 1975, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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#### D. Chapter Meetings

The East Bay chapter had 17 meetings between February 20, 1975 and July 24, 1975.

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7/30/75; [REDACTED] 4/18/75 -  
6/12/75; [REDACTED] 3/20/75 -  
5/1/75; [REDACTED] 1/30/75

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At the VVAW/WSO meeting on March 6, 1975, there was a discussion regarding the financial report and demonstrations at the Leamington Hotel against the Bird Air Company who fly supplies to Cambodia under contract with the U. S. Air Force. (X)

[REDACTED] 3/10/75

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At the VVAW/WSO meeting on March 20, 1975, it was stated that the "Defense Committee" wants members of the chapter to volunteer their time to go around and check out backgrounds of the jurors selected to hear cases of the "13" arrested at the Saigon Consulate during a recent demonstration. (X)

[REDACTED] 3/24/75

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At the VVAW/WSO meeting on April 16, 1975, it was stated that the Southern California chapter of the VVAW/WSO had ousted Northern California chapters of the VVAW/WSO. The Southern California organization is made up of members of the RU, while the Northern California chapters are anti-RU in leadership. The Northern California chapters will write some articles to expose their "reactionary" actions that were taken by the Southern California chapters. (X)

[REDACTED] 4/18/75

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At the VVAW/WSO meeting on May 1, 1975, there was an election of chapter coordinators. (X)

[REDACTED] 5/2/75

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At a VVAW/WSO meeting July 24, 1975, discussion centered around the work done at the National Conference held in St. Louis by the VVAW/WSO chapters that had split from the chapters remaining loyal to the ideological line of the RU. The main concern of this conference and subsequent concern of each of these chapters is to regenerate nationwide activity of a mass democratic anti-imperialist organization. (X)

[REDACTED] 7/30/75

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A source made available on April 30, 1975, a leaflet, not dated, from the East Bay chapter of the VVAW/WSO. The leaflet stated in part as follows:

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VVAW/WSO is a mass anti-imperialist organization with a base and focus around vets and GIs. In the Bay Area VVAW/WSO has organized demonstrations at the VA, The Federal Building and Union Square around four basic demands: UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY, END ALL AID TO THICU AND LON ROL, SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE FOR ALL VETS, DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS.

Recently a struggle has developed within the organization around the role of the RU (revolutionary union), a cadre organ., within VVAW/WSO (a mass organ.). VVAW/WSO (East Bay) does not view the RU as an enemy of the people, but we have many points of contention around their line.

Recently, the southern Calif. sub-region of VVAW/WSO (approx. 5 chapters, 50 people), which is very close to the RU decided to expell the entire Northern Sub-region. This action was undemocratic, illegal by organisational working papers and thoroughly unprincipled. Since the expulsion RU forces use the endorsement of the southern sub-region to represent itself as VVAW/WSO in the Bay Area. This shows no respect for VVAW/WSO chapters in this area which have engaged in anti-imperialist struggle here for several years.

The RU forces' main tactic used against VVAW/WSO (Northern Calif.) is to charge non-implementation of a new National Program, specifically not doing enough work around the Veterans Administration and ensuring decent benefits for all vets, even though the position of the National Office (VVAW/WSO) is: "While the National organization focuses its work on mobilizing and organising vets and GIs the particular conditions that face each chapter will dictate how that chapter applies our national focus and national program".

VVAW/WSO (Northern Calif.) has concluded that at this time focus around Indo-china was and still is primary. To this end VVAW/WSO (Northern Calif.) organized mass demonstrations, including the largest 'anti-war' rally in 2 1/2 years (climaxing in the occupation of the Saigon consulate), and a series of demonstrations aimed against BIRD AIR, a CIA cover group used to airlift ammunition into Cambodia. The correctness of these actions can best be viewed in light of the current conditions in Indo-china.

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A source advised on May 16, 1975, that at a recent meeting of the VVAW/WSO, it was announced that the Northern California sub-region was expelled from the organization and that the National Office had cut off all relations with the Northern California chapters. It was also stated that all RU people have been purged from the Northern California organization. (X)

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On June 12, 1975, a source made available a six page leaflet entitled "Vietnam Veterans Against the War in a Time of Struggle - An Open Letter to Anti-Imperialist Forces". The leaflet is as follows:



**Vietnam veterans against the war**  
**Winter soldier organization**

**in a time of struggle**

**AN OPEN LETTER TO  
ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES**

**the  
WAR**





## in a time of struggle

### AN OPEN LETTER TO ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

TO OUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN STRUGGLE,

An unusual course of events concerning political struggle is taking place within Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). On April 12, 1975, at the Southern California Sub-Regional conference, five chapters voted to expel the rest of the California Region (9 chapters, including the elected Regional Coordinator). The serious nature of this attack requires us to make public our position on both this action and the events that led to it. Our position concerns some of the most basic issues within the anti-imperialist movement; the role of white people in fighting racism and in building a multi-national movement; the responsibility of men to combat sexism; the nature and abuse of democracy in a mass organization; the role of members of cadre organizations with mass organizations, as well as the relationship of cadre organizations to mass organizations. Our present struggle directly involves the Revolutionary Union (RU).

The recent struggle in VVAW/WSO has underlined the necessity for a clear analysis and full presentation of our political situation. This letter is written in the hope that our friends will come to understand our current situation and learn from our experience. This statement is the first step of an ongoing political analysis of our work. It covers the historical relationship between VVAW/WSO and the RU, our primary political differences with the politics of the RU as they affect VVAW/WSO internally, and the democratic process of VVAW/WSO.

In the anti-war movement VVAW focused the anger of vets returning from an imperialist war. The form of the organization was spontaneous and undefined. Our actions were dramatic and significant--from soldiers of the empire throwing back their medals in Washington, D.C. to forums exposing the role of the military in Vietnam. We spoke with credibility: our anti-war views were believable--the vets were the children of the American working class and knew what the war was about. Masses of American people responded to VVAW. We helped the anti-war movement take a major leap forward. Never before had the veterans of a war openly supported the other side.

The addition of Winter Soldier Organization\* to our name in April 1973, showed our dedication to the struggle against imperialism in all forms--from ending all imperialist wars,

\*The idea from which the name, Winter Soldier Organization, comes, is a quote from Thomas Paine --"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands now deserves the thanks of man and woman."

to smashing racism and sexism, to fighting for the rights of active duty service people and all working people. Winter Soldier was equally important in that it recognized the participation and leadership of non-veterans, especially women. Membership was opened equally to all who agreed with the objectives of the organization. Structurally we kept redefining and tightening up the organization. Our present objectives and working papers, while not perfect, do represent many years of struggle to develop a higher level of political unity and create a structure which would function on a mass democratic basis.

## **The Practice of the RU in VVAW-WSO**

Almost two years ago, members of the RU began to join chapters of VVAW/WSO, mostly in the midwest, and members of the National Office of VVAW/WSO (N.O.) began to develop close ties with the RU. VVAW/WSO was preparing for a major national demonstration in Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1974. This demonstration was to culminate eight months of work around our organization's demands.

- ★ UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY
- ★ IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS
- ★ END ALL AID TO THIEU & LONNOL
- ★ SINGLE TYPE DISCHARGE FOR ALL VETS
- ★ DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS
- ★ KICK NIXON OUT

THE ABOVE WERE THE NATIONAL DEMANDS OF VVAW/WSO FOR THE 4TH OF JULY DEMONSTRATION

We began to hear of chapters in the East that were being formed by the RU to build for our demonstration. We were pleased to have the help, but were distressed by a booklet passed out by the RU at the demonstration titled, "Build the Anti-Imperialist Veterans Movement" which contained recent articles from various RU newspapers. These articles defied a political program for VVAW/WSO that was foreign to our membership and that had never been discussed within our organization nationally. We were also distressed that the keynote speech, by a member of the N.O., was not addressed to our primary demands of ending the war and universal unconditional amnesty, but instead was limited to the economic problems of veterans.

Just prior to our national meeting in August, 1974, we received a document from the N.O. It outlined the future of the organization as being the veterans and GI wing of a "United Front Against Imperialism". The document stated that GI's and veterans should be the primary mass base of VVAW/WSO, and that we should focus our work on their specific struggles. Very few of us had any problem in the literal meaning of this concept, as it was widely true in practice. However, in the context of the politics of the N.O. position (which virtually ignored work on Indochina and amnesty and reduced the role of women to what it was before the Winter Soldier days) we found the document intolerable. This document from the N.O. led to the present national program of the organization.

At the August, 1974, meeting a "sense of the meeting" vote of agreement was taken in support of the N.O. paper. This vote was not binding and was to go back to regions for approval. Nevertheless, the N.O. and our national newspaper "Winter Soldier", as well as RU publications including "Revolution", put forward an image of the whole organization as having firmly adopted the N.O.-RU position. (It should be pointed out that this document of some 25 pages was voted on by individuals who had it in their possession for only 48 hours and had received little or no input from their chapters or regions on its content).



During the period between the August and December national meetings, new chapters and regions of VVAW/WSO began to crop up in areas where VVAW/WSO had not been active recently, but the RU had been. In the same period RU supporters and members joined existing chapters throughout the country. These new members generally did not help in the existing work of the chapters, but spent their time arguing the politics of the N.O. document. The monthly internal newsletter put out by the N.O. began to glorify the work of the RU dominated chapters around purely veteran's issues while underplaying or ignoring the anti-imperialist work of other chapters.

## The National Program - A Step Backward

This leads us to the last national meeting in December, 1974, where, because of the RU's expansion within VVAW/WSO, the N.O. paper was approved by a majority of those present as a new national program. This came at a time when the heroic battles of the Indochinese peoples were coming to a peak--at a time when they more than ever needed the full support of the peoples of the world to crush US imperialism at its weakest link. The new program gave work around Indochina bare lipservice, claiming that issues like support for Vietnam and Universal Unconditional Amnesty would "unfold" from a "war on the Veterans Administration" through the demand "Decent Benefits for all Veterans." The RU calls this "unfolding"--we call it economism. Given the history and practice of our organization we found their concept a step backward in our development.

We firmly uphold the ninth objective of VVAW/WSO--to smash racism in our society and ourselves and fully support building international unity. We see the need to build daily working relations with Third World peoples and organizations around issues of self-determination and issues which effect the entire working class. We feel our primary emphasis should be organizing white working class people around the importance of supporting struggles of Third world peoples for self-determination while pointing out the fact that maintaining racism is not in their class interest. We do not see the role of VVAW/WSO moving forward by trying to recruit Third World people under a political program defined by a predominantly white organization; instead, we must build ties with Third World struggles through our support and practice.

We feel that the program put forward by the N.O. calls for us to actually put aside struggles against racism in the US, which they call "the stirring up of racial division, a plot by the state to divide the working class." We find the RU position on the Boston busing situation outrageous. We believe that racism is the issue in Boston, not busing.

The place where our differences come clearest concern the question of building VVAW/WSO as a multi-national organization. In December 1974, under the guidance of the RU, it was decided by a vote that VVAW/WSO would "become" a multi-national organization. The way to do this, according to the program, is by educating black vets to understand that they should fight back as veterans and not as black people. We were to put forward truly multi-national demands such as "Decent Benefits for all Vets" and to educate Third World vets that these demands were correct, ignoring any issues of self-determination. A report from one RU-dominated chapter went so far as to say that a weakness in their work at the VA was the failure to educate black vets to the fact that they had a role to play in fighting imperialism. It seems to us that a small group of predominantly white men (the N.O. of VVAW/WSO and the RU) has managed to define political struggle so that the major issue of racism is shoved aside under the illusion that racism is well taken care of by stressing "multi-national" organizing. This is grossly inadequate to deal with the material basis of racism toward all non-white peoples in the US. Never has the RU been able to explain why blacks organizing around their special oppression divides the working class, but organizing veterans around theirs does not.

We see combating sexism in all forms as an important aspect of the anti-imperialist movement. Women's groups exist within chapters in Northern California. Here sisters come together to find strength in each other and begin to bring the issue of sexism to the organization in a way that it can be dealt with both politically and in practice. Women make up a large number of the membership of VVAW/WSO. They are in positions of leadership within the organization in Northern California because of their practice. The number of sisters joining VVAW/WSO here is on the rise. This can be attributed to the strong anti-imperialist practice of the organization, as well as the unity of our women and the willingness of our men to struggle against sexism.

The national program outlines that women relating to vets should be organized around the oppression that their men feel as veterans. This view continues to propagate the idea that a woman is defined in terms of her relationship to a man, and also continues to welcome women to work on somebody else's struggle, and not those struggles which concern women, or women and men equally. RU cadre working in VVAW/WSO have continually attacked feminism as bourgeois and call for women to drop the issue of their liberation in favor of uniting with men to overthrow the state. The N.O. and RU have opposed the rights of women and Third World CI's to organize caucuses or organizations around their special oppression. We totally reject this position, and fully support these caucuses. We feel the RU cadre in VVAW/WSO have shown through their practice that they are unwilling to deal with their own racism or sexism and use their politics to avoid the difficult task of remoulding themselves. Northern California VVAW/WSO does not agree that a revolution will magically remove racism and sexism and we are dedicated to making these two issues part of our daily struggle.

Northern California VVAW/WSO finds the RU's position on gay people politically depraved. We wholeheartedly reject that gayness comes from bourgeois decadence, and is a disease that socialism will cure. We welcome all sisters and brothers into our organization and the overall anti-imperialist struggle regardless of their sexual preferences. We feel that our present organizational objectives should be expanded to defending the rights of gays in society and in the military.

The national program puts forward the position that vets must initially be organized around their immediate economic needs, and that "Decent Benefits For All Veterans" is the primary slogan of our work at this time. The program states that organizing vets around better home loans is a politically correct way to "unfold" anti-imperialist consciousness from immediate economic needs. We see this as a major step backward from an 8 year history that organized thousands of working class people into anti-war and anti-imperialist consciousness. We believe that vets are rising up, as part of the American working class, around the conditions of all employed and unemployed workers. We think vets are rising up because of the continuing wars of aggression by the U.S. around the world. We do see the importance of organizing veterans, and all VVAW/WSO chapters in Northern California have ongoing programs around veterans needs and issues. The difference is that we emphasize organizing vets around their particular knowledge of the workings of imperialism, not just around their own special economic needs.

## Democracy in VVAW-WSO

Here we must point out some things about the structure of VVAW/WSO:

- A region is defined as an area where there is one or more chapters;
- Nationally, a chapter must consist of at least five people;
- And, regions have 5 votes each at a national meeting.

This leads us to a situation where a large region like California with over 200 active members can be continually outvoted by small, one or two chapter regions with one tenth or less of the membership of California.

The California region is divided into two sub-regions. According to our structure a chapter may expel a member and a sub-region may expel a chapter. But a sub-region may certainly not expel a chapter of another sub-region or another entire sub-region. "All proposals that change regional policy or deal with matters of similar magnitude (will) be returned to chapters to weigh their impact and be voted upon at the following regional conference." (California Working Paper)

At the April 12th Southern California Sub-regional Conference, contrary to both the regional and national working papers, a proposal was approved to expel all VVAW/WSO members in California who supported the Anti-Imperialist Caucus (AIC).<sup>\*</sup> They interpreted this to mean all chapters in Northern California and two chapters in the South. The National Office has supported this illegal expulsion of 200 people by 40 people. Similar acts of expulsion are beginning in other parts of the country -- Ohio, New York, and Missouri. These actions have been justified by claiming they put "politics in command" -- the politics in command belonging to the RU.

We have found unity with the program passed in December, 1974, in so far as recognizing the need for systematizing our work and outreach. We are implementing the program where chapters are able, while continuing to develop our politics from practice and study. Between December and May, we have focused our primary work around Indochina, while continuing our work around veteran and community issues. We think our decision is politically correct.

Membership in the AIC is varied. In some parts of the country, entire chapters belong, in others only some members participate. The AIC is dedicated to rebuilding the mass character of our organization, as well as reaffirming our support and work for national liberation struggles both inside and outside the U.S. We want it clearly understood that we do not object to working with cadre organizations, nor do we quarrel with their right to have secret members. It is the practice of the RU cadre and the RU as an organization with which we have conflict and must criticize.

It is easier to take over an existing organization than to build a new one. VVAW/WSO has a rich and varied history: we have mass support and participation in our organization, and we are credible when we speak to the issues around which we organize. The form of VVAW/WSO, the name, the reputation, structure, and national newspaper are the important things to the RU. The content of the organization, its membership and varied political beliefs and work are relatively unimportant. Many dedicated and hard working people have left the organization because of the tactics used by the RU and N.O. in this struggle. The RU forces do not seem to give a damn how many people quit or are thrown out because of their need to control the form of VVAW/WSO and to use its credibility. We estimate that over 500 people have left or been kicked out since last January. In many areas where membership was in the hundreds, only 5 to 10 people, mostly RU supporters, are left in the organization. The National Office has said that this is a "good thing as it removes dead wood and moves the struggle forward." We find it inconceivable that any responsible leadership could find losing half or more of its organization a step forward.

Our struggle is directly tied to the RU calling for a founding Party Congress this summer. Their concept of a "United Front Against Imperialism" is a key element of their theory. From their point of view, little special interest groups fighting for their own needs are seen as the mass support for their party's line and revolutionary strategy. It

<sup>\*</sup>The Anti-Imperialist Caucus is the name taken by those members of VVAW/WSO opposed to the politics of the national program.

is important to them to have a vets and GI organization in their United Front. The RU would like to announce that VVAW/WSO supports their party. The only way this can be done is if all opposition to their line is either driven or kicked out prior to or during our next national meeting in July. Such further expulsions like the one in California would destroy what currently remains of the mass character of VVAW/WSO. What is already true in many parts of the country would become true of the organization as a whole. All the members of VVAW/WSO would have the politics of the RU, and hold dual membership with it or its affiliate groups (Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), Unemployed Workers' Organizing Committee (UWOC), or numerous "Workers" newspapers). This dual membership is already common in chapters across the country where other forces have been driven out.

## Where We Are Now

Because we do not support the RU, because we find organizing veterans primarily around decent benefits to be economist, because we are dedicated to struggling against racism and sexism, and put forward our support for Indochina in our daily practice, we have been expelled from VVAW/WSO. We do not recognize this act. We are members of VVAW/WSO who uphold its objectives and democratic process. Although there are clearly two political factions, there is only one VVAW/WSO, and we believe that both sides are members of the same organization. However, at the Southern California Sub-regional Conference which expelled us, five members of VVAW/WSO (some were also members of the RU or RSB) were declared to be the real VVAW/WSO in Northern California and have been attempting to organize in our name and use the VVAW/WSO endorsement for actions and demonstrations. This is in violation of our organization's working paper which sees no need for individuals forming new chapters in areas where chapters already exist.

We will continue our work, organizing and working with vets and GI's and all poor and working people to build an anti-imperialist progressive mass organization. We intend to help rebuild VVAW/WSO in areas where it has been destroyed. We will unite with our sisters and brothers all across the country who have left in frustration because of the tactics of the present struggle. To do this, we fully understand that our unity must be built around concrete political programs, and not just opposition to the RU. These programs are being built slowly as we claim no easy answers to the question of how to organize people in this country.

We do not ask others to take sides in our internal struggle. We ask that you investigate the politics and practice of those who come forward to you as VVAW/WSO before uniting with them. We, in Northern California, are resolved to prevent this internal struggle from obstructing our primary task of combatting racism, sexism, and imperialism.

We would like to hear from you about this letter (preferably in writing), and will provide more information if it is requested.

**a luta continua • venceremos**



### **NORTHERN CALIFORNIA VVAW-WSO**

East Bay (415) 658-7806  
San Francisco (415) 922-5940  
San Jose (408) 988-4210  
Santa Cruz (408) 426-8200  
Marin County (415) 454-6761  
Mid-Peninsula (415) 322-3182  
Fresno (209) 485-9091

## **the objectives of vvw-wso**

1. To demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia.
2. To demand the immediate termination of all other operations by the United States Government, its agencies, and American business interests that are designed to suppress the rightful struggles for liberation and self-determination of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This includes the maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination, and the theft of the natural resources of other countries. The United States should make reparations in a program acceptable to the Indochinese for all of the damage done by the United States.
3. To demand that all active-duty servicemen and women, reservists and national guardsmen be afforded the same rights that are guaranteed by the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights that are presently denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice.
4. To support all military personnel refusing to serve against their conscience in wars at home and abroad. We demand that Congress enact legislation for the immediate repatriation of those brothers and sisters who are in prison or in self-exile by reason of their refusal to serve in the military. It must also involve an end to all repression and a freeing of all political prisoners.
5. To demand there be no distinctions as to types of discharge and that a single type discharge be issued, and that this be retroactive. We also demand all veterans receive all rights and benefits under the VA; and that compensation for disabilities be based solely upon the degree of disability for veterans and their families, without regard to sex, race, rank or length of service.
6. To make clear that the United States has never undertaken an extensive, open investigation of American war crimes in Indochina. In its war in Indochina, the principles of Nuremberg have been violated. As active-duty and former GIs, we recognize the responsibility and guilt of the individual soldier to refrain from committing war crimes. We also recognize that the responsibility and guilt of war crimes committed in the name of America lies with our policy makers at all levels.
7. Resolved to fight racism, to show Americans that our society is permeated by racism, which manipulates whites into viewing non-whites as inferior or less than human. This racism pushes Third World People through inferior schools to inferior jobs and into combat arms. Thus Third World People are sent off to die in disproportionately high numbers as we kill Asians indiscriminately. We also demand the US military recognize its complicity in America's domestic and international racism.
8. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status upon women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling, lower paying jobs which are servile in nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a double standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially defining servicewomen as subordinate and thoroughly subjugating them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within ourselves.
9. To support the democratic right of Americans to unionize and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We consider all legislation designed to suppress these rights, including mandatory arbitration, to be illegal and not in the interests of the American working people. We also demand full employment for all Americans, including free educational and vocational training for all who need or want it. We refuse to participate in the efforts being made to separate us from other working people, making veterans enemies by giving us the charade of employment priority. We condemn this as a method of encouraging enlistment by the false promise of employment after service. We also condemn the use of active-duty GIs, reservists and national guardsmen as strikebreakers.

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b7D

Santa Cruz Chapter Meetings

The Santa Cruz VVAW/WSO chapter had eleven meetings between February 4, 1975 and July 28, 1975.

[REDACTED] 2/21/75 - 52  
8/1/75 57D

At the VVAW/WSO meeting on February 24, 1975, a discussion was had regarding committees such as anti-imperialism, legal defense and propaganda. (C)

[REDACTED] 3/11/75 52  
57D

At the VVAW/WSO meeting on March 24, 1975, there was a political educational on the news of Indo-China. (C)

[REDACTED] 4/11/75 52  
57D

At the VVAW/WSO meeting on May 19, 1975, there was a discussion regarding a meeting to be held in Vancouver, B.C. with two representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and two members of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. (C)

[REDACTED] 6/2/75 52  
57D

At the VVAW/WSO meeting on July 28, 1975, there was a discussion on the reconstruction and organization of the Northern California chapters. (C)

[REDACTED] 8/1/75 52  
57D

Mid-Peninsula Chapter Meetings

At a VVAW/WSO Mid-Peninsula chapter meeting on June 16, 1975, there was a discussion of the objectives of the VVAW/WSO for a conference of all members who had split from the RU, which dominates the VVAW/WSO National Office. (C)

[REDACTED] 6/23/75 52  
57D

At the VVAW/WSO meeting on August 12, 1975, there was a discussion regarding the selection of a coordinating committee of the chapters of the new organization of the VVAW/WSO in Northern California. (C)

[REDACTED] 8/12/75 52  
57D

SF 100-71012  
LFT:kah

E. VVAW/WSO Demonstration

An FBI Agent observed a peaceful demonstration sponsored by the VVAW/WSO at the Leamington Hotel office of the Bird & Son Company, Oakland, California, on March 29, 1975. About 300 persons participated in this peaceful demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the Bird Air Company flying supplies to Cambodia. The Bird Air Company is under contract to the U. S. Air Force.

1.

### REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution," are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U. S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the 12/74 NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the U. S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 9/23/75

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (100-21623) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS  
(OO: CHICAGO)

Rerep of SA [REDACTED] 4/3/75, at Buffalo and Albany letter, 7/30/75.

On 8/7/75, [REDACTED] (reliable) advised the Buffalo Chapter of captioned organization resigned from the national organization because of the internal struggle taking place. [REDACTED] member of the Buffalo Chapter and Regional Coordinator for the New York-Northern New Jersey Region, also resigned leaving no regional office in the Buffalo, New York area. Several former members of the Buffalo Chapter plan to remain an active political organization (as yet without a name) and meet at the storefront at 363 Connecticut Street, Buffalo, New York. They are undecided on their policy to follow.

Referenced Albany letter reflects the New York and Northern New Jersey VVAW/WSO Chapters are the only chapters in the New York-Northern New Jersey Region which have not resigned from the national organization. The Oneonta, New York Chapter of VVAW/WSO has completely disbanded and its former members are no longer functioning either as a group or seeking other causes in which to join.

In view of the above and the fact that all VVAW/WSO contacts have ceased within the Buffalo Division, Buffalo is

REC-3

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Albany (100-22519) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-53565) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-160644) (RM)
- 1 - Buffalo

FZF:jeh  
(11)



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-448092-4352

6 SEP 26 1975

6/5/95

ELVE

BU 100-21623

conducting no further investigation regarding VVAW/WSO and is placing this matter in a RUC status.

Buffalo will follow activities of former VVAW/WSO members through [REDACTED] and the Bureau will be advised of all pertinent information developed concerning this new organization. 52 57D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 013 SF COOE

9:05 PM NITEL 9/18/75 CJC

SEP 18 1975

TO: DIRECTOR

TELETYPE 115/91

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-79495) (P)

VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORO TO SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, SEPTEMBER  
20 - 22, 1975. INFORMATION CONCERNING.

A SOURCE HAS ADVISED THAT AT A MEETING OF THE VIETNAM  
VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT PLANS WERE BEING MADE TO PICKET THE  
PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT TO STANFORD UNIVERSITY. OTHER UN-  
NAMED GROUPS WERE TO BE ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE. b7C

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THE U.S.-CHINA PEOPLES FRIENDSHIP  
ASSOCIATION (USCPFA) AND OTHER UNAFFILIATED PERSONS WERE ALSO  
ENCOURAGED TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE PRESIDENT DURING HIS  
VISIT TO STANFORD UNIVERSITY. HOWEVER, SOME CRITICISM WAS  
VOICED AGAINST THE LATTER SINCE THE USCPFA IS SUPPOSED TO BE  
APOLITICAL.

THE VVAW/WSO WAS FORMED IN 1967 AS AN ORGANIZATION OF  
VIETNAM VETERANS TO PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. CURRENT VVAW/WSO OFFICERS HAVE TOLD

O-73 sent 9/19/75

DAG (AEN)

AA 6, Am. Ltr. 1/55 - 60

6445

JE 10/1/75

F-485

SF PD

5 SEP 29 1975

100-448092

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
Intell.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

PAGE TWO SF 100-79495

MEMBERS THAT THE VVAW/WSO IS A REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

THE USCPFA, FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE UNITED STATES-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION, WAS FOUNDED DURING 1971 AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., PRIMARILY AS A FRONT GROUP FOR PRO-CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

b7C

FOREGOING.

SOURCES UTILIZED ARE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

b2  
b7D

ENO

HOLD PLS

cc Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Adams  
Gen. Investig. Div  
Ext. Aff. Div  
Mr. Wamall  
Mr. [REDACTED]

b7C

SF being investigated  
to obtain local  
info  
PLS

# MESSAGE RELAY

*Handwritten mark*

Transmit in ☐ Plaintext ☒ Code Via Teletype the Attached ☐ Immediate ☒ Urgent ☐ Nite) Message

Date 9/19/75

From: Director, FBI

To: SACs:

To: Legats:

*Handwritten: b7C*

*Large black redacted area*

To: RUEADWW/ ☐ The President ☐ The Vice President ☐ White House Situation Room  
☐ Attn: ☐ Attn:

RUEBWJA/ ☐ Attorney General ☒ Deputy Attorney General  
☒ Attn: Analysis and Evaluation Unit

RUEBWJA/ ☐ Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division

RUEBWJA/ ☒ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division

☒ Attn: Internal Security Section ☒ Attn: General Crimes Section

RUEABND/ ☐ Drug Enforcement Administration

RUEANAT/ ☐ National Aeronautics & Space Adm.

RUEBWJA/ ☐ Immigration and Naturalization Service

RUEOIAA/ ☐ National Security Agency  
(DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))

RUEBWJA/ ☐ U. S. Marshal's Service

RUEOLKN/ ☐ Naval Investigative Service

RUEBDUA/ ☐ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)

RUEAUSA/ ☐ U. S. Postal Service (if Classified)  
(Use RUEVDFS if Unclassified)

RUEACSI/ ☐ Department of the Army

RUEAIIA/ ☐ Director, CIA

RUEHSE/ ☒ U. S. Secret Service (PID)

RUEBJGA/ ☐ Commandant, U. S. Coast Guard

RUEHJGA/ ☐ Secretary of State

RUEKJCS/ ☐ Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

RUEBJGA/ ☐ Department of Transportation

RHEGGTN/ ☐ Energy Research and Development  
Administration

REC 68

*Handwritten: 100-448092-4354*

RUEOGBA/ ☐ Federal Aviation Administration

21 SEP 23 1975

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
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Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

SEP 19 1975

TELETYPE

Classification: ☐ Top Secret ☐ Secret ☐ Confidential ☒ Unclassified

Subject (Text begins next page):

VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORD TO SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA,  
SEPTEMBER 20 - 22, 1975

5 OCT 14 1975

TELETYPE UNIT ☒

Foreign Liaison Unit ☒ 21 SEP 2 1975  
☐ Route through for review  
☐ Cleared telephonically  
with \_\_\_\_\_

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

NR 013 SF CODE

~~9:05 PM NITEL 9/18/75 CJC~~

TO: ~~DIRECTOR~~

FROM: ~~SAN FRANCISCO (TDB-79495) (P)~~

~~VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORD TO SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, SEPTEMBER~~

~~22, 1975. INFORMATION CONCERNING~~

~~WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST,~~  
A SOURCE, HAS ADVISED THAT AT A MEETING OF THE VIETNAM

VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO),  
IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT PLANS WERE BEING MADE TO PICKET THE  
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IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. CURRENT VVAW/WSO OFFICERS HAVE TOLD

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OCT 2 1975  
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PAGE TWO

~~SE 102-79495~~

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THE USCPFA, FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE UNITED STATES-CHINA  
FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION, WAS FOUND DURING 1971 AT SAN FRAN-  
CISCO, ~~CA~~ <sup>CALIFORNIA</sup>, PRIMARILY AS A FRONT GROUP FOR PRO-CHINESE  
COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE:~~

b7C

~~██████████~~ SECRET SERVICE, SAN FRANCISCO, AWARE OF  
FOREGOING.

~~SOURCE UTILIZED~~

~~██████████~~

~~██████████~~

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b7D

~~NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.~~

END

~~HOLD PLS~~

~~Mr. Callahan~~

~~Mr. [unclear]~~

~~Mr. [unclear]~~

~~Mr. [unclear]~~

~~Mr. [unclear]~~

~~Mr. [unclear]~~

~~██████████~~

b7C



Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 9/19/75

President Ford reportedly is visiting San Francisco, California, area 9/20-22/75.

Attached reports Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Solider Organization (VVAW/WSO) making plans to picket the President during his visit to Sanford University (SU). Other unnamed groups to be encouraged to participate.

U. S. - China Peoples Friendship Association and other unaffiliated persons also encouraged to demonstrate against the President during his visit to SU.

Secret Service, San Francisco, cognizant. Our San Francisco Office is being requested to insure local police are cognizant.

Pertinent data in attached sent by teletype to Deputy Attorney General, attention Analysis and Evaluation Unit, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, attention Internal Security and General Crimes Sections, of Department and Secret Service.

1 - General Investigative Division

1 - External Affairs Division

HEM/jj

4/5/94 50622

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : SAC, DENVER (100-10467) (C)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
IS - VVAW/WSO

DATE: 10/3/75

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Classified by 8269 JPS/vel/tcy  
Declassify on: OADR

Re Denver report of SA [redacted] dated  
5/27/75 and Chicago airtel to the Bureau, dated 6/30/75,  
captioned "WEATHFUG, SPECTAR".

For information of the Bureau, captioned organi-  
zation is no longer active in the State of Colorado, as  
substantiated by the following:

On 5/17/75, [redacted] (of unknown reliability  
due to lack of sufficient amount of information to eval-  
uate) advised that he met on that date an individual that  
he later identified through observation of a photograph  
as being [redacted] (Denver file 100-11805),  
former Regional Coordinator for the VVAW/WSO, and that  
[redacted] told him that the VVAW/WSO members had broken up  
about one week prior to this date and some were now with  
the Colorado Workers Unity Organization (CWUO) (Bureau  
file 100-482632, Denver file 100-12034).

On 8/13/75, [redacted] advised that he had  
[redacted] (phonetic) (believed to be [redacted])  
former VVAW/WSO associate-member) whom  
he had originally met through VVAW/WSO activities in  
Denver and that this individual stated that there are  
no activities of the VVAW/WSO in the Denver area at the  
present time due to disagreement of local members with the  
National Steering Committee policy and Revolutionary Union  
interference.

EX-110

REC-65

100-448092-4355

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 5 - Denver (1 - 100-10467) (1 - 157-1014)
  - (1 - 100-1748, Denver Chapter)
  - (1 - 100-11738, Boulder Chapter)
  - (1 - 100-11728, Colorado Springs Chapter)

3 OCT 6 1975

WHM:mfr



5010-110

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referenced Chicago airtel to Denver set forth that the VVAW is all but defunct as an independent organization and the Revolutionary Union (RU) and Weatherman are presently making efforts to recruit the remains of this group. It is believed that this is the case in Denver in regard to the status of this organization, although to date, no indications are present that would indicate that the RU or Weatherman are attempting to recruit former members and in the case of the RU, as previously stated herein, it would appear that the Denver VVAW considers the RU to be interfering in VVAW matters and wants no dealings with this organization.

Consequently, Denver is conducting no further investigation concerning this matter but will remain alert through sources for any new pertinent developments that might indicate the rejuvenation of this group and/or suggest possible violations of Federal statutes by the group or its members.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

10/29/75

TELETYPE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
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TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-78655)

SUBJECT: INFO

RE: DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED BY WHITE PANTHER PARTY AND WINTER SOLDIER

ORGANIZATION ON OCTOBER 30, 1975, IN SAN FRANCISCO PROTESTING VISIT

BY PRESIDENT FORD. IS-WPP.

ON OCTOBER 20, 1975, A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THERE WILL BE A PROTEST OF PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT TO SAN FRANCISCO ON OCTOBER 30, 1975. PICKETING WILL TAKE PLACE FROM 11:00 A.M. TO 1:00 P.M. IN THE VICINITY OF THE ST. FRANCISCO HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, WHERE PRESIDENT FORD IS STAYING. SPONSORS OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE THE WHITE PANTHER PARTY AND WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION.

THE WHITE PANTHER PARTY IS A WHITE HIPPIE ORIENTED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION WHOSE PRINCIPAL GOALS ARE UNLIMITED FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THE VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/COMMUNISM ORGANIZATION, NOW CALLED WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, IS SELF-DESCRIBED AS A MASS ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION AND A VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTION EVENTUALLY ORIGINATED BY THE MASSES.

FILE WHITE PANTHER PARTY

100-44809122

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133 NOV 26 1975

Class. & Ext. By SP5R36/DB  
Reason - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
Date of Review 10-25-95

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO (2) OF 100-79600

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] (S)U

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[REDACTED] U.S. SECRET SERVICE, AND INSPECTOR [REDACTED]  
SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT, INTELLIGENCE UNIT, WERE ADVISED ON  
OCTOBER 29, 1975.

END

ADJ FBING CLK TO

cc Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Adams  
Mr. [REDACTED]  
Mr. [REDACTED]  
Mr. Wannall  
Mr. Helgeson

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/7/75

FROM : LEGAT, TOKYO

SUBJECT: PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE (PCS)  
IS - RA  
(Bufile 14-3079)  
(TOKfile 100-731) (P)  
(OO: San Francisco)

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG)  
IS - C  
(Bufile 100-7321)  
(TOKfile 105-5874) (P)  
(OO: New York)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS - RA  
(Bufile 100-448092)  
(TOKfile 100-1005) (P)  
(OO: Chicago)

[REDACTED] b7C  
(Bufile 100-481508)  
(TOKfile 100-1151) (P)  
(OO: San Francisco)

[REDACTED] b7C  
(Bufile 14-3079-258)  
(TOKfile 100-1394) (P)  
(OO: Indianapolis)

6/5/95 SP7 C/100  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS CLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/21/82 BY SP2 TAP/EP

Enclosed for the Bureau and receiving offices are  
fourteen copies of an LHM pertaining to captioned matters,  
classified "SECRET."

- 16 - Bureau (Enc. 14)  
    (1 - Foreign Liaison Unit)  
    (2 - Chicago)  
    (2 - Indianapolis)  
    (2 - New York)  
    (2 - San Francisco)

5 - Tokyo

RNB:il

(21)

100-448092 -

ORDERED

12 375

ENCLOSURE



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 7, 1975

PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE (PCS);  
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG);  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO);  
[REDACTED] b7C

The following information concerning captioned matters was furnished by U. S. Naval Investigative Service Office, Yokosuka, Japan, on September 19, 1975:

The New People's Center (NPC) is headquarters for PCS, NLG, and VVAW/WSO at Yokosuka, Japan. (U)

On September 12, 1975, [REDACTED] a "John" and "Nancy" representing "New Asia News" in Tokyo, one unidentified sailor and seven Japanese nationals met at the NPC. The purpose of the meeting was to make plans for the continued operation of the NPC after [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] depart Yokosuka to go to Okinawa. [REDACTED] will depart on September 22, 1975, and [REDACTED] will leave on October 4, 1975. Due to lack of funds, the Pacific Counseling Service (one of the main sponsors of NPC) has been unable to obtain any replacements for the Japan projects as activists leave Japan. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] further explained that the

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 3908 DRK/AG  
ON 8/28/80  
per disclosure analyst  
released by WIS

Classified by 90  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

100-448092-  
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE (PCS);  
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG);  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO);  
HARRY LEROY FARIES;  
NORMAN ALAN EWING

---

PCS projects in Japan are rated in importance as Okinawa first, Iwakuni second, and Yokosuka last. They hope that the NPC will continue to operate despite the absence of full-time activists. To fulfill this, they are looking for a local sailor to operate the NPC on a part-time basis. "John" and "Nancy" stated that they would be able to work at the NPC at least once a week until they depart Tokyo on about November 15, 1975. They added that [REDACTED] should also be able to work once a week. In addition to opening the NPC, the activists hope that it will be possible to publish at least one issue of their newspaper, "Freedom of the Press," each month. The activists plan to hold another meeting at NPC on September 27, 1975, to finalize plans. (S) 57C

The Yokosuka Citizens Group, which shares space at the NPC, is planning to hold a demonstration in Yokosuka on October 5, 1975, to protest the second anniversary of the arrival of the USS "Midway" in Yokosuka. Further details are unavailable at this time although past demonstrations by this organization usually consisted of about twenty persons. (S)

Due to extended deployment of the USS "Midway" and other Yokosuka home-ported ships, there will be very few visitors to the NPC. This, combined with the lack of PCS funds, has resulted in the planned transfer of the activists from Yokosuka to Okinawa for an undetermined length of time. (S)

~~SECRET~~



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The PCS, formerly known as the West Coast Counseling Service, was originally manned by anti-war, anti-military clergymen and their followers with the intent "to inform GI's of their rights within the military regulations and assist them in obtaining these rights whenever possible." Since its inception at Monterey, California, in 1969, the PCS has operated at various times in the States of Washington and California, with overseas offices in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines and Hong Kong. Currently headquartered in San Francisco, with offices near many American military installations, it has directed its activities to counseling and aiding anti-war and dissident servicemen. The PCS is now staffed by men and women, including anti-war activists, ex-GI's, draft resisters, and clergy.

The VVAW was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time VVAW leaders have told members the VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans." Also, the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally, it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U.S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to VVAW/WSO so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

1 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): (NLG) 77 Civ. 999 (U.S.D.C. S.D. N.Y.)

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092 Not Recorded Dated 10/7/75 Page 4

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 10/10/75

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21603) (C)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER  
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS

Re St. Louis airtel to the Bureau dated 8/5/75, and  
Milwaukee report of SA [REDACTED] dated 7/31/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau and Chicago is a revised  
characterization of captioned organization in St. Louis,  
Missouri.

Captioned organization is defunct in St. Louis  
as set forth in enclosed revised characterization. St. Louis  
is closing this case. In the event the St. Louis Chapter  
returns to activity in the future this case will be re-opened  
and the Bureau will be advised.

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-Chicago (100-50772) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1-St. Louis  
RJN:dmn  
(4)

OCT 16 1975

NOV 12 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Saint Louis, Missouri  
October 10, 1975

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI BRANCH  
CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - VVAW/WSO  
BUREAU FILE 100-455107  
ST. LOUIS FILE 100-21603

*SP 6/24/74*  
A source advised that the captioned organization was formed in June, 1969 as the St. Louis Veterans For Peace in Vietnam (SLVPV). It was under partial control and influence of members of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The organization was dissolved in January, 1970, but reorganized in October, 1970. Since that time it has not been significantly influenced by the aforementioned groups.

*7/15/75*  
A second source advised in 1971 SLVPV affiliated with and adopted the name of the national organization known as Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). "Winter Soldier Organization" was added to the name of the organization in 1973 upon instructions of the National Office. St. Louis members attended national VVAW meetings and demonstrations and have participated in guerrilla-type training.

A third source advised in April, 1975, that a split occurred in the St. Louis Chapter and a splinter VVAW/WSO chapter was organized with emphasis on veterans matters. Neither faction of the St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO appears to support the Maoist line or Revolutionary Union (RU) philosophy of the National VVAW/WSO.

*MAILED 3  
NOV 10 1975  
AFBI*  
The second source advised in July, 1975 that the St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO has split into three factions, only one of which supports the National VVAW/WSO RU Line. The chapter sold its coffeehouse headquarters at 1023 Allen Avenue and is considered defunct.

APPROVED

Date: 11/1/75

MAIL ROOM ☒

ENCLOSURE

100-448024356

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI BRANCH  
CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - VVAW/WSO  
BUREAU FILE 100-455107  
ST. LOUIS FILE 100-21603

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A fourth and fifth source advised in July, 1975 that the St. Louis Chapter of VVAW/WSO was ousted from the National VVAW/WSO due to their anti-RU views.

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest the war in Southeast Asia, changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members, has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the RU. At the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, VVAW/WSO was portrayed as a mass anti-imperialist organization and vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses. At the December, 1974 NSCM leaders voted to align VVAW/WSO with the RU.

The RU, founded in 1968, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization. Its objectives are the fostering of revolutionary working class unity through the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified engaging in guerrilla warfare training.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) is part of a world communist revolutionary movement, dominated by the Soviet Union, whose purpose is to establish a communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries of the world.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a revolutionary, Trotskyist-Communist organization. Its purpose is the overthrow of the U. S. Government and the institution of a dictatorship of the working class and the eventual achievement of a communist society. It was founded in 1938 and maintains close association with international Trotskyist organizations as a "sympathizing" group. While the SWP does not openly advocate violence at the present time, it believes eventual violence is inevitable and seeks to precipitate revolution when conditions are ripe so it can seize control and direct it.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI BRANCH  
CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - VVAW/WSO  
BUREAU FILE 100-455107  
ST. LOUIS FILE 100-21603

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Sources:

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[REDACTED] (first source)  
[REDACTED] (second source)  
[REDACTED] (third source)  
[REDACTED] (fourth source)  
[REDACTED] (fifth source)

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CHICAGO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>CHICAGO</b>	DATE <b>OCT 29 1975</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>2/1/75 - 10/6/75</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)</b>		REPORT MADE BY SA <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED <b>MAH</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS</b>	

**REFERENCES:** Chicago report of SA **[REDACTED]** 2/7/75.  
St. Louis report of SA **[REDACTED]** 2/27/75.  
Milwaukee report of SA **[REDACTED]** 7/31/75.

- P -

LEADCHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activity  
regarding VVAW/WSO National Headquarters.

6/5/75 5066/10/11

only pages 10-13  
revised for appeal  
NK 84-1884  
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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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(copies continued on Cover Page B)			

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations <b>FIVE</b>
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Date Fwd.	11/10/75	11/10/75	11/10/75		
How Fwd.	File	File	File		
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CG 100-50772

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- 2 - Chicago (100-50772)
  - 1 - 100-53924

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CG 100-50772

ADMINISTRATIVE

No dissemination of this report is made locally by the Chicago Office.

Copies of this report have been designated for those offices covering the territory of current VVAW/WSO regions and chapters as set forth in their July, 1975, breakdown, located in Section I, Item D, of this report.

Organizations mentioned in this report have been characterized in the appendix pages where such information was available to the Chicago Office.

All VVAW/WSO National Officers, with the exception of B. ROMO, are on the ADEX. Los Angeles is Office of Origin in the case of BARRY LOUIS ROMO and Chicago is unaware of his ADEX status. To date, Chicago has been unable to verify the presence of ROMO in Chicago. Los Angeles and the Bureau will be kept advised in this matter.

The details of this report are classified "Confidential" in order to protect [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

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INFORMANTS

<u>Source</u>		<u>Location</u>	
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED] b7C

Office: Chicago

Date:

OCT 29 1975

Field Office File #:

100-50772

Bureau File #:

100-448092

Title:

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY

DECLASSIFIED BY *Sgt. J. VA*  
6/5/96

Synopsis:

VVAW/WSO National Headquarters located 827 West Newport Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Details regarding structure, regions, chapters, aims and purposes, and officers, set forth. Estimated membership between 500 and 750. VVAW/WSO publishes "Winter Soldier" newspaper and other periodicals. As of December, 1974, VVAW/WSO National Office was approximately \$25,000 in debt, and as of March, 1975, VVAW/WSO National Office indicated their financial situation was desperate. Activities of National Coordinators set out, as well as activity of VVAW/WSO anti-imperialist faction and VVAW/WSO connections with Indochina Peace Campaign, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, Revolutionary Student Brigade and Revolutionary Union.

- P -

DETAILS~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6607

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification: Indefinite

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the December, 1974, NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the United States.

Characterizations of organizations mentioned in this report are set out in the Appendix Section of the report where suitable information was available.

Those items in the report followed by a (C) are classified "Confidential". The remainder of the report is not classified.

VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings are hereafter being referred to as NSCM.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Incorporation

On October 18, 1973, [REDACTED] Clerk, Corporation Division, Secretary of States Office, State of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois, advised that a search of their records revealed that on June 18, 1973, Articles of Incorporation, under the General Not For Profit Corporation Act was filed by the VVAW/WSO. The Board of Directors were listed as SAMUEL R. SCHORR, BRIAN ADAMS and EDWARD J. DAMATO, all of whom listed an address of 827 West Newport, Chicago, Illinois. This is the same address of the VVAW/WSO National Headquarters. The registered agent is listed as SAMUEL R. SCHORR. b7c

B. Location

Current literature of the VVAW/WSO indicates their National Office is located at 827 West Newport Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

C. Structure

On July 25, 1975, [REDACTED] made available the following: b2 b7D

1. A member of VVAW/WSO is a person who works for the local, regional, and national programs of the organization, works in a chapter, organizing contact, or project of the organization \* and who will agree with the principles of unity. \* Chapters have the obligation to accept, reject, or expel members.
  
2. A chapter is a group of members who work together for local, regional, and national programs of the organization. A chapter is required to contribute \$1 per month for each member to the National Office, and will distribute the national news paper.
  
3. The next highest form of organization in VVAW/WSO is the regional level. A region is composed of at least one active chapter and contact (s) capable of building a chapter(s) within the regional area. The organization has divided the US into many areas based on political and geographic factors. Each of these areas is represented at national meetings (NIC, NSCM) by regional leadership. Regions meet periodically (at least every six months) to work collectively for the regional and national programs, to elect regional leadership, and elect NSCM delegates. Regions are recognized by the NSC.
  
4. The National Interim Committee meets every 2 or 3 months, as required between NSCMs to make decisions within the overall program and policies set by that body as changing conditions or practice make necessary. Each region has two delegates to the NIC which are elected at the regional meetings for a term of six months. Voting is handled the same way as the NSCMs. At least one person on regional leadership must be elected to serve both on the regional and national level (NIC, NSCM). One of the NIC representatives for the region must be one of the delegates to the NSCM in order to provide continuity between those bodies.
  
5. An International Chapter is a chapter outside the continental US; the VVAW/WSO national office will recognize international chapters with the decision to be ratified by the NSC.
  
6. National Steering Committee Meetings are the highest decision-making body in the organization. Basically, an NSCM may change any policy of the organization, reshape regions, recognize regional contacts, add or subtract chapters or members or recall national coordinators. The NSCM may make these policy decisions because at this time, it is the most representative body of the organization. The NSCM consists of from 5 to 10 delegates from each region, with 2-12 votes per region according to the following scale:
 

2 votes / region minimum		71-100 members is 8 votes
11-15 members is 3 votes	1	101-130 members is 9 votes
16-25 members is 4 votes		131-160 members is 10 votes
26-35 members is 5 votes		161-200 members is 11 votes
36-50 members is 6 votes		201 and over members is 12 votes
51-70 members is 7 votes		

\*\* The workshop agreed that this should be included when the principles of unity are passed.



Each region may have 5 delegates to the NSCM; if, according to this voting scale, the region has more than 5 votes, the region may have as many delegates as votes up to a limit of ten.

Since the NSCMs are concerned with setting the basic program and policy of the organization, they meet only every 6 months. This allows time for the policy decisions to be tested in practice. The NSCMs also elect National Coordinators for terms of one year. Three National Coordinators come up for election at each meeting (see the National Office section below for nomination procedures). The N.O. is viewed at the NSCMs as a region with 2 votes. Proxy votes will be in writing on specific issues only.

7. National Office collective members are the national political leadership of VVAW/WSO. They are known as "National Coordinators," because it is their job to head up the fight around the many aspects of the vets and GI struggle. This requires making many decisions on a day to day basis concerning VVAW/WSO's relationships with other groups, strategy for our national campaigns and demonstrations, and policy for the national newspapers. That is why, although there are many administrative tasks that must be taken up, we clearly place the most emphasis on the N.O.'s actively taking part in and guiding the work of VVAW/WSO at all levels.

Nominations for national coordinator are taken at one NSCM for vacancies at the next; these nominations are open up until 60 days before election; if they are not made at the NSCM, they will be announced in the national newsletter. Coordinators may be nominated for re-election; if re-elected they must spend from 2 weeks to a month working in a chapter, contact, or project of the organization. If a coordinator resigns, the NO will advise chapters through the newsletter that nominations are open for that spot. Election of coordinators is by majority vote of the NSC.

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57D  
On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished the minutes of the 15th VVAW/WSO NSCM held July 3 - 6, 1975, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which set forth information that during the opening speech at the NSCM the National Office proposed that the "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" or "Faction", had to be expelled from the VVAW/WSO. These minutes stated:

PROPOSAL ON EXPULSION OF THE FACTION:

The first item of business taken up by the plenary was the expulsion of the faction. The proposal, made by the National Office, is as follows:

PROPOSAL: 1) That, as a result of splitting and wrecking tactics, and attempts to subvert the national program of VVAW/WSO, the following chapters and pseudo-chapters are expelled from VVAW/WSO:

Oakland, California  
Santa Cruz, California  
San Jose, California  
San Francisco, California  
Marin County, California  
Fresno, California  
South Bay, California  
Santa Barbara, California  
Buffalo, New York  
St. Louis, Missouri  
Dayton, Ohio

2) That, because of conscious factionalizing, attacking the organization, and fighting against the building of a veterans movement, the following individuals are expelled from VVAW/WSO and will never be re-admitted:

Jeanne Friedman (San Jose)	Tohy Hollander (St. Louis)
Jeanie Dolly (San Francisco)	Denny Cummins (St. Louis)
Bob Hood (Oakland)	Jane Cummins (St. Louis)
Mike McCain (San Francisco)	Gary Staiger (Dayton)
Paul Johnson (San Jose)	Mary Jo Cook (Buffalo)

3) That VVAW/WSO regions are responsible for getting rid of chapters or individuals in their regions who, either officially or through practice, show they are following the line of the so-called "Anti-Imperialist Caucus;"

4) That individuals (except those listed above) who have been members or followed the leadership of the "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" may be re-admitted to VVAW/WSO under the leadership of their regions.

**VOTE:** This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

In presenting this proposal, the National Office laid out the reasons why certain chapters and individuals must be expelled by the National Steering Committee, the highest decision-making body of the organization. The faction, which began as the "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" at the St. Louis NSCM in December, 1974, has publicly slandered VVAW/WSO, and engaged in splitting and wrecking activities since the last NSCM, even though there was ample room for struggle inside the organization. This faction never intended to implement the organization's national program and obstructed its implementation at every turn. The faction, through its practice, has shown that it is not a part of VVAW/WSO, though it has been attacking the organization by using the name of the organization. Since, in reality, the faction is not part of the organization, the NSC was asked to recognize this fact and throw out the opportunist elements who have been holding back the work of building a fighting veterans movement.

Specifically, the proposal states that the listed chapters of VVAW/WSO are expelled from the organization because of their activity in the faction and their splitting and wrecking activities. These chapters are not to use the name of the organization and are no longer considered a part of VVAW/WSO. Though some of these chapters have previously been dissolved, expelled or have resigned from the organization through various regional meetings, it was felt that they should be expelled by the national organization at this meeting.

The proposal also called for the expulsion of 10 individuals who are considered enemies of VVAW/WSO. These 10 people are expelled for their splitting and wrecking activities on the national level and are never to be allowed back in the organization under any circumstances.

Along with the chapters and individuals named above, all chapters and individuals who follow the leadership of the faction are no longer to be considered as

part of the organization. However, those individuals who have been a part of the faction but who are not named specifically above, can come back into VVAW/WSO under the condition that they honestly want to help build the fighting veterans movement. These people will be allowed back into the organization under the leadership of their respective regions on a one-by-one basis.

Other chapters and individuals who have been a part of the faction, either officially or through their practice, but who are not discussed in this proposal and who have not resigned from the organization are to be expelled by their regions if the regions find that necessary. The National Steering Committee is only dealing with those individuals and chapters who have played a splitting and wrecking role on the national level and who are obviously consolidated behind the leadership of the faction.

The National Office has the responsibility for informing other organizations and individuals of the decision made by the NSC around the faction. A letter will be sent out to other organizations and it was suggested that an editorial on the subject appear in the next issue of WINTER SOLDIER.

CG 100-50772

D. Chapters and Regions

During July, 1975, [REDACTED] made available the following VVAW/WSO regional and chapter list: <sup>b2</sup><sub>b7D</sub> u

## ALASKA/WASHINGTON/OREGON

Regional Office

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 411

Tillicum, Washington 98492

(206) 272-4532

Eugene

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 5193

Eugene, Oregon 97405

(503) 485-0280

Seattle

VVAW/WSO

514 11th Street East

Seattle, Washington

(206) 329-2009

Tacoma

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 411

Tillicum, Washington 98492

(206) 272-4532

## CALIFORNIA/NEVADA/ARIZONA

Regional Office

Tom Zangrilli

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 24B65

Village Station

Los Angeles, California 90024

(213) 629-3914

Long Beach Contact

VVAW/WSO

1865 Temple

Signal Hill, California 90804

(213) 439-2280

Los Angeles

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 24B65

Village Station

Los Angeles, California 90024

(213) 629-3914

Orange County

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 4145

Irvine, California 92664

(714) 645-1443

Salinas Contact

Peter Eisenberg

623 1/2 East Alisal Avenue

Salinas, California 93901

(408) 422-7188

San Bernardino

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 5154

San Bernardino, California 92405

San Diego

VVAW/WSO

PO Box 8036

San Diego, California 92102

(714) 233-9612

San Fernando Valley Contact

Jim Rufer

7839 Chastain

Reseda, California 91335

(213) 342-9472

San Francisco Contact

Dave Ewing

1595 Noe Street #1

San Francisco, California 94131

(415) 282-0318

San Jose

Ron Gracia

830 Gilchrist Walkway #3

San Jose, California 95133

COLORADO/NEW MEXICO/UTAH/  
WYOMINGRegional Office

Don Graber

4245 Stuart

Denver, Colorado 80212

Salt Lake City  
 VVAW/WSO  
 Larry & Karel Pace  
 254 East 7th South  
 Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

DELAWARE/EASTERN PA/SOUTHERN NJ

Regional Contact/Philadelphia  
 VVAW/WSO  
 PO Box 638  
 Havertown, Pennsylvania 19083  
 (215) RE9-4144

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA/MARYLAND/  
 VIRGINIA

Regional Office  
 VVAW/WSO  
 521B Second Street NE  
 Washington DC 20002  
 (202) 543-0817

Baltimore  
 VVAW/WSO  
 109 S. Cilmor  
 Baltimore, Maryland 21223  
 (301) 947-0418

Highway 13  
 Highway 13  
 PO Box 665  
 Laurel, Maryland 20810

Washington DC  
 VVAW/WSO  
 521B Second Street NE  
 Washington, DC 20002  
 (301) 422-7670

FLORIDA/GEORGIA

Regional Contact/Homestead  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o David Cornewicz  
 11852 SW 185th Terrace  
 Miami, Florida 33157  
 (305) 253-1301

NORTHERN ILLINOIS/IOWA

Regional Office/Chicago  
 VVAW/WSO  
 827 W. Newport  
 Chicago, IL 60657  
 (312) 327-0488

SO. ILLINOIS/MISSOURI/OKLAHOMA

Regional Office/St. Louis  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o Rich Bangert  
 1551 Trampe  
 St. Louis, Missouri 63138  
 (314) 741-7837

Norman Contact  
 Steve Boyce  
 c/o RSB  
 633 Elm Street  
 Norman, Oklahoma 73069  
 (405) 360-0252

OHIO/INDIANA/KENTUCKY/MICHIGAN  
 WESTERN PA/WEST VIRGINIA

Regional Office  
 Bob Moore  
 VVAW/WSO  
 PO Box 19302  
 Cincinnati, Ohio 45219  
 (513) 961-6585

Cincinnati  
 VVAW/WSO  
 PO Box 19302  
 Cincinnati, Ohio 45219  
 (513) 961-6585

Detroit Area  
 VVAW/WSO  
 3136 East Davison  
 Detroit, Michigan 48212  
 (313) 893-0523

Dayton Contact  
 Ray Blackwell  
 150 Ridge Avenue  
 Dayton, Ohio 45405

Goshen Contact  
 Art Schmucker  
 Rt #4, Box 357  
 Goshen, Indiana 46526  
 (219) 642-4661

Kent Contact  
 Rob Sadler  
 1840 Rhodes Rd #563  
 Kent, Ohio 44240  
 (216) 678-4233

Pittsburgh Contact  
 Mike Thewes  
 5402 Broad Street #15  
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15206

WISCONSIN/MINNESOTA

Regional Office  
 VVAW/WSO  
 2532 N. Holton  
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212  
 (414) 264-0882

Milwaukee  
 VVAW/WSO  
 2532 N. Holton  
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212  
 (414) 264-0882

Oshkosh Contact  
 Dan Dederling  
 Rm 1069, N. Scott  
 University of Oshkosh  
 Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901  
 (414) 424-2814

NEW ENGLAND

Regional Office/Boston  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o Jimmy Pettiford  
 26 Norton  
 Dorchester, Massachusetts 02125  
 (617) 265-8703

Amherst  
 William Stewart  
 245 Sugarloaf Street  
 So. Deerfield, Massachusetts 01373

Portsmouth/Dover  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o Bob Hassey  
 223 High Street  
 Somersworth, New Hampshire 03878  
 (603) 692-5470

Providence  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o Providence Workers Committee  
 PO Box 6711, Charles Street  
 Providence, Rhode Island 02940

NEW YORK/NORTHERN NEW JERSEY

Regional Office  
 Jim Duffy  
 VVAW/WSO  
 41 Union Square West, #311  
 New York, New York 10003  
 (212) 255-7012

New York City  
 VVAW/WSO  
 41 Union Square West, #311  
 New York, New York 10003  
 (212) 255-7012

Northern New Jersey  
 Rick Fantasia  
 16 Hillyer Street  
 Orange, New Jersey 07050  
 (201) 672-3537

Rochester  
 Gary Kenyon  
 202 Emerson  
 Rochester, New York 14613  
 (716) 458-5113

Syracuse  
 VVAW/WSO  
 c/o Jack Gallagher  
 102 Bradley Street  
 Syracuse, New York 13204  
 (315) 422-5390

Albany Contact  
 Bob Oeser  
 13 McPherson Terrace  
 Albany, New York 12206



Canton Contact  
 Sam Miller  
 General Delivery  
 Canton, New York 13617

Ithaca Contact  
 Middy Streeter  
 208 Willard Way  
 Ithaca, New York 14850  
 (607) 273-7595

Teaneck Contact  
 Doug Hayes  
 202 W. Englewood Avenue  
 Teaneck, New Jersey 07333

#### TEXAS

Regional Office/Houston  
 VVAW/WSO  
 2912 Wentworth  
 Houston, Texas 77004  
 (713) 923-1589

Ft. Worth Contact  
 David Peacock  
 511 Blevins  
 Ft. Worth, Texas 76111

#### INTERNATIONAL CHAPTERS

Hawaii  
 VVAW/WSO  
 1990 Aamara Place  
 Pearl City, Hawaii 96782  
 (808) 456-3894

England  
 VVAW/WSO  
 2 Turquand Street  
 London SE 17  
 England

Japan  
 VVAW/WSO - Omega Center  
 PO Box 447  
 Okinawa-shi  
 Okinawa-Ken

VVAW/WSO  
 PO Box 49  
 Iwakuni-shi  
 Yamaguchi-Ken  
 Japan 740  
 (0827) 22-0238

VVAW/WSO  
 New People's Center  
 PO Box 26  
 Yokosuka-shi  
 Japan  
 (0468) 25-0157

#### NATIONAL OFFICE

VVAW/WSO  
 827 W. Newport  
 Chicago, Illinois 60657  
 (312) 935-2129

CG 100-50772

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

paper:

On May 9, 1975, [REDACTED] <sup>52 b7D</sup> furnished the following

"STRUGGLE IN VVAW/WSO"

(The following is a reprint from the newspaper, SEIZE THE TIME, an "underground" paper put out from Santa Barbara, California. For those who have seen the recent mailing from the "Northern California Anti-Imperialist Caucus" you will recognize that the NCAIC feels that this article reflects their primary political differences with the politics and program of the organization. To quote the NCAIC, "We feel that this article correctly reflects what has recently happened in our organization." This is being reprinted because it is important for people to understand the politics of the "anti-imperialist caucus" and because it is important that these kinds of gross, public distortions of the struggle within our organization be gotten out to the membership).

A major struggle is shaping up inside the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). The lines are being drawn between members and supporters of the Revolutionary Union (RU), who are in control of the National Office (NO) and the VVAW/WSO newspaper, WINTER SOLDIER; and the "Anti-Imperialist Minority Focus" (AIMF) which is strongest in the largest and most active regions: New York and California, for example. The AIMF is now in the process of defining itself politically, and the analysis in this article does not claim in any way to represent the AIMF or any part of it.

By flooding the organization with secret cadre, setting up a number of new chapters and even regions, and beginning to recruit from the ranks of VVAW/WSO, the RU has gained a strong foothold in the organization. Some RU regions, it should be noted, are smaller than a single committee of a single chapter of the larger regions, but as of now each region carries equal voting strength within the organization. The Buffalo Chapter, in a paper entitled "Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories," has charged the RU with "direct efforts at manipulation within the organization. A clear example is the formation of new chapters and regions of VVAW/WSO by the RU. This serves to push a particular line through a mechanical manipulation of "democratic" processes, rather than applying principled political struggle and education of the masses."

Communist members of VVAW/WSO have a special responsibility to examine the line and practice of the RU, both in VVAW/WSO and in the rest of the movement. They must not see the struggle in VVAW/WSO as isolated from the rest of the movement; the RU line is also being pushed elsewhere. VVAW/WSO members should talk to other groups -- particularly TW and Womens' -- about their experience and opinion regarding the RU.

The most useful and available expression of the RU line and influence in VVAW/WSO are the new National Program and the WINTER SOLDIER paper. The AIMF, on the other hand, has at this point no clearly consolidated political line.

#### ECONOMISM AND VVAW/WSO

VVAW/WSO has adopted a "Vets and GI base and focus." The new national program defines how work is to be done in this focus. We quote: "We say that the

key demand at this time is DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS." Most of the six-page program deals with work around this demand. The other demands, relating to Indochina, Amnesty and a Single type discharge, are seen as more difficult for veterans to relate to. Movements around these demands are supposed to "develop dialectically" or "unfold" from work in this area at a later point. Quote again from the National Program: "Besides consistency, it was pointed out earlier that mobilizing vets around the key demand of "Decent Benefits" will lead to related movements around amnesty and Indochina. It has been said by many chapters that people, especially vets, do not relate to the amnesty demand or the Indochina demand when first approached. This is very understandable, since anti-imperialist consciousness does not come out of the sky. People must be won to it. By uniting with and leading the struggle around demands that veterans immediately grasp are in their interests provides the material basis for explaining the other demands and winning their support of them, not the other way around. This will not happen if the fight around the immediate needs is conducted in an economist or reformist way, never attacking the system or bringing out the system's true nature."

Despite the disclaimer tacked onto the end, this stinks of economism. Let's see what Lenin says on this subject. "The idea preached by our economists, that the economic struggle is the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, is so extremely harmful and extremely reactionary in its political significance." "...as a matter of fact, it is possible to "raise the activity of the masses of workers" only provided this activity is not restricted to "political agitation on an economic basis". "...Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone, are not Social Democrats (communists)." **WHAT IS TO BE DONE**

The NO and the RU think that building an anti-imperialist vets movement requires an economic bait. There is a blindness in this, because no-one could seriously argue that most or even a small minority of the members of VVAW/WSO are active because of their immediate economic interests.

One characteristic of economism is a failure to engage in cultural revolution -- tackling the cultural forces of imperialism -- sexism, self-interest, racism, individualism, etc. Perhaps this is why the RU influence seems to many VVAW/WSO members to be devoid of warmth, humanity, and collective development. What Amilcar Cabral said about national liberation and culture applies equally to socialist revolution in the oppressor nation: "...it may be seen that if imperialist domination has the vital need to practice cultural oppression, National Liberation is necessarily an act of culture. On the basis of what has just been said, we may consider the National Liberation movement as the organized political expression of the culture of the people who are undertaking the struggle. For this reason, those who join the movement must have a clear idea of the value of the culture in the framework of the struggle..."

Two main aspects of the economist position in VVAW are its failure to deal with sexism and its racist position towards national movements within the US. These are explained further below.

### FAILURE TO FIGHT SEXISM

The seventh objective of VVAW/WSO reads in part as follows: "7. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status on women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth."

A survey of the last year of WINTER SOLDIER does not turn up a single attack on sexism. The new national program does not even mention the word or the concept. The March, 1974, centerfold on International Women's Day reflects the RU line, and is an insult to the women's movement and a violation of the 7th objective. It again fails to mention the word or concept of sexism. The last women's struggle mentioned in its history happened in 1909. Again and again it repeats that women must unite with men to struggle. But it never calls on men to combat sexism in their own ranks. The fact is that there is a strong and growing anti-imperialist women's movement in the US. Most women in that movement already understand the need to ally with men in order to defeat US imperialism. What they need is for the majority male organizations like VVAW/WSO to actively combat sexism and to support the women's movement so that they can unite. Under RU influence, however, this is out of the question.

The position of the NO as expressed in WINTER SOLDIER would make us believe that it is more important for women to struggle against feminism than for men to struggle against sexism. We got news for the NO: it isn't feminism that has supported imperialism all these years. If VVAW/WSO is not anti-sexist, then it is not anti-imperialist.

### NATIONAL CHAUVINISM vs INTERNATIONALISM

Starting as a pure white group, the RU has attempted to integrate its way to leadership over not only the white movement but also over the TW movements. While they believe that veterans, for example, should organize independently, they oppose independent Black or Brown groups. Most recently the RU line has been clearly exposed in Boston as the RU takes up the cry against the busing of Black school children to segregated white schools -- while supporting busing and integration in principle (?) and attacking nationalism as the main deviation in the revolutionary movement! Shades of PL!

After six years of existence the RU is still almost totally white, with understandably poor relations to most TW organizations in the US.

In VVAW/WSO this has serious implications. If one looks through the past six months of WINTER SOLDIER, no evidence will be found that Black, Chicano, or Native American liberation movements even exist in the US, much less that they are actively supported by some VVAW/WSO chapters.

In San Jose, California, the VVAW/WSO chapter has built close alliances with groups in the Chicano movement through work in a "Coalition Against Racism." Several chapter members are active participants in a large mass group, mostly Chicano, including some Chicano veterans. There has been no reason to recruit these vets because it has been clear that their oppression as Chicanos is primary. When Chicanos move as veterans, they move in national forms, such as GI Forum.

How does the new National Program propose to relate to TW veterans? It declares that VVAW/WSO, a white organization, shall become multi-national through a fight for economic issues like better benefits and jobs for all. They predict that this will "win over" TW veterans to VVAW/WSO. When the NO talks about the VA in WINTER SOLDIER, however, they don't deal with the specific conditions of TW veterans (See Sept-Oct 1974 and January 1975 issues). In the November, 1974 centerfold on military oppression they say, "The only solution to this problem (racism) is through the understanding that the common enemy of both Third World and white GIs has no color at all. US imperialism is the system that we are all struggling against, and it is this common form of oppression that we all share that should be the basis for unity." (emphasis added)

This is clearly incorrect. It shows how economism in the oppressor nation turns out to be national chauvinism. The ruling class of US imperialism has a color -- it's white. White people in the US are an oppressor nation -- Black, Brown and other peoples are oppressed nations and nationalities. The oppression of white and TW GIs are qualitatively different.

For a 99% white organization like VVAW/WSO internationalism must mean opposing imperialism within the borders of the US as well as without. Otherwise "anti-imperialism" is a sham, and otherwise VVAW/WSO cannot expect support or alliance, much less recruits from TW communities.

### BUILDING THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAUCUS

The AIMF in VVAW/WSO cannot be a purely "reactionary" force -- reacting to the RU presence. Hopefully, the RU invasion will serve as a catalyst to the sisters and brothers in the AIMF to improve their work through a higher degree of organization and ideology. The white revolutionary movement needs the strength and clarity which can result if the advanced members of the AIMF develop collectives, coordinate their practice and theoretical development, unite with other forces in the white anti-imperialist movement fighting for socialist revolution, allying closely with TW liberation forces.

Though no political line has yet been firmly established, the outlines are beginning to come clear. While there is no opposition to building the vets and GI movements, the AIMF intends to do so while raising political demands such as support of liberation movements, combatting sexism, supporting the Vietnamese, etc. It is particularly clear that the AIMF can unite around the ideas that as a white male dominated group they must fight racism and support TW liberation movements, fight sexism and support the womens' movement to build unity and that the economism of the RU must be discredited and dumped.

The June - July, 1975 issue of "Winter Soldier", which is self-described as a publication of the VVAW/WSO, set forth the following information:

#### WHAT IS VVAW/WSO?

Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) is an international organization working to build a fighting movement of veterans and GIs to struggle against the exploitation and oppression of US imperialism, both at home and abroad. We are made up of vets and non-vets, GIs and civilians, men and women.

Veterans and GIs have absolutely no interest in maintaining the system of imperialism, and have nothing in common with the handful of rich who own and run it. The only law this system knows is the law of profit, and the ruling class will do anything to insure and increase their take. VVAW/WSO knows this only too well from the struggle to put an end to the war in Indochina, a war that was not fought for the Indochinese or American people. Millions of poor and working people were forced or conned into the military to fight for the profits and domination of the imperialists over the resources and wealth of Southeast Asia.

GIs rose up and rebelled against being used this way, and rebelled against the unbearable conditions (harassment, oppression of national minorities, oppression of women) that exist in the military. As ex-GIs, veterans have found joblessness, meatmarket VA hospitals, a miniscule GI Bill; and veterans are pissed about it. Everyday, vets and GIs are standing up to the Brass and VA bureaucrats, standing up to the courts and the cops; and fighting for a better life.

VVAW/WSO has declared "War on the VA" and is fighting hard to see that veterans get jobs, health care and education. We have also taken on the military, organizing ourselves and other GIs to fight back. But we are clear on one thing: that as long as the system of imperialism still exists, the VA can never serve the needs of vets; and as long as the military is the bludgeon of the ruling class, GIs will never be fighting in their own interests or in the interests of the American people.



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VVAW/WSO is a weapon in the hands of veterans and GIs, a weapon to join with workers, students, women and oppressed people to defeat the system that lets a band of thieves steal the wealth of the world. We stand ready to fight VA cutbacks, fight for GI rights, to fight this system tooth and nail until it is ground into dust for all time. We have a common enemy: the ruling class and its system-- imperialism; and the people are getting stronger every day while this rotten system grows weaker. THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!! JOIN US!! For more information contact the local VVAW/WSO chapter in your area, regional office or the National Office at 827 West Newport Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60657, telephone (312) 935-2129.

On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished the minutes of the VVAW/WSO 15th NSCM, which set forth the following information:

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NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR BUILDING A FIGHTING VETERANS MOVEMENT

The major point of discussion which ran throughout the meeting and workshop is the National Program. As stated in the speech given at the beginning of the meeting, the major purpose of the NSCM was to broaden and deepen the National Program -- through summations of work, discussion, etc. All workshops pointed toward this end and following the completion of workshop reports, the plenary discussed the Draft National Program which had been prepared by the National Office. This draft program is designed to be printed as a pamphlet, written in a mass way, and used by chapters as an agitational tool for building the fighting veterans movement. The draft program was discussed in detail, criticized, summed-up by the delegates to the meeting for the purpose of gaining greater clarity around what our fighting program is, as well as improving the draft before it is printed. This original draft will not be sent out to all the chapters. Instead, it was decided that the National Office will re-write the pamphlet based upon the criticisms and input resulting from the NSCM. This second draft will be mailed out to chapters for further discussion. If there is agreement around the draft, the NO will go ahead and print it. If there are further criticisms, the program will be finalized by the NIC (which was established at this meeting under the new working paper) sometime in the fall. After that, the program will be printed and sent out to chapters for mass distribution.

The major problem with the first draft program written by the NO -- a problem which cropped up in discussions throughout the NSCM -- was that it tended to present our work in different "compartments." Our program deals with three major areas of work: War on the VA, unemployment work, and work around the growing danger of war. The draft program tended to separate these three areas from one

another, i.e. "compartamentalizing" them. Through discussions at the NSCM and particularly in the workshops, it became clear that these areas of work are very closely related and not things which can be partitioned off. For instance, chapters who are doing consistent work around the VA are finding that one of the major demands of veterans there is the fact that they can't get a job and are having to rely more and more on benefits from the VA to survive. They are faced with the red-tape, harassment and cut-backs at the VA. This is just one example of how closely linked the campaigns around Decent Benefits and Jobs or Income are and shows that the fight around both demands can be built simultaneously. Another example of the close relationship between our work is talked about in the report from the Student Organizing Workshop. It was brought out in that workshop that the problems vets going to school face around an inadequate GI Bill, late checks, etc. is tied in with the problem of unemployment (i.e. so many vets going to school because they can't find a job to survive, so they turn to the GI Bill. These links in all areas of our work need to be brought out more clearly in our national program, as well as in our day-to-day work. When talking about the danger of war, this should be tied to and unfolded from both our VA and unemployment work. We can't build a movement to oppose the danger of war in a vacuum. Running around raising demands of "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" in relation to nothing else will not effectively bring people into struggle; instead, this demand has to be tied into concrete struggles. In short, the major error in the draft program was the mechanistic division of our work or the idea that, "This is our VA work; this is our unemployment work; this is our work around the danger of war." If we do our work in this way, we will be making the error of not showing people how all areas of our work are closely linked together and all flow from the general crisis of the system. We will also be failing to fully build the struggles of vets since vets are waging struggle around the VA just as they are waging struggle around the lack of jobs. To build a real, fighting veterans movement, our work must be linked together and tie in all areas of struggle that vets are moving around.

Another error in the draft program, which has also been a problem in our mass work, is the failure to thoroughly build upon the consciousness of vets. Veterans do have a unique experience in having been in an imperialist military and having fought in an imperialist war. This common experience needs to be built upon more consistently. This will help us to better bring vets into struggle, as well as uniting the various struggles that vets are involved in. This experience was characterized as the "double shaft" idea -- meaning that vets were shafted by the imperialist military and made to do the dirty-work of the ruling class; then they returned home and were shafted again by meat-market VA hospitals, massive unemployment, VA cutbacks, red-tape and harassment, and the danger of another war of aggression. Veterans do have a basic consciousness around this "double shaft" and as a veterans organization, we should build upon this in our work of uniting with the struggles of vets. We can also help vets to sum-up their experiences of having been shafted by the military and then by society, and by doing this, we will help to broaden their consciousness of the nature of the system as a whole. At the same time, we should bring this consciousness to the struggles we're involved in. We have an important role to play in talking about the danger of another war of aggression because as veterans, we have been used to fight in one of those wars

already. We have an important role to play in helping to build the struggles of unemployed workers and at the same time, showing people how joining the military is not in their interests and is no solution to being out of work. And we have an important role to play in building the struggles of veterans at the VA and unemployment offices for the reason that we share a common experience, have a common identity and through this, we can win vets to an understanding of the need to fighting back against the "shaft" we're all getting here at home.

The "compartmentalization" of our areas of work, and the failure to fully build upon the consciousness of vets were the major criticisms of the draft program. Many other criticisms and suggestions were raised throughout the meeting and these will be incorporated into the re-writing of the program by the National Office. The NSCM saw the development of our program, which can be used as a mass tool for building struggle, as a real step forward in our work. VVAW/WSO is our national program and the struggle that went on to sum-up our practice to broaden and deepen that program was the major focus and strength of the meeting.

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On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished the minutes of the VVAW/WSO 15th NSCM, which set forth the following information:

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY/STATEMENT ON IMPERIALISM:

At the last NSGM, the organization decided that we should draw up principle of unity and a definition of imperialism, with the idea that these would replace the 10 objectives and avoid some of the problems with those objectives. The principles of unity and statement on imperialism were drawn up at a workshop held in April. Since the last NSGM and April workshop, many chapters, regions and the National Office have been thinking about these two things and discussing how principles of unity and a statement on imperialism could be used by VVAW/WSO. This discussion was also held at this meeting. In this discussion it was explained that programmatic unity is the basis of unity for our organization. People learn through their day-to-day struggle and VVAW/WSO's task is to build the struggle of veterans and GIs. Because of this, we don't need detailed political statements as to what our membership should agree to, and we don't need to continually re-define ourselves through written statements. Instead, the organization is our fighting program. The principles of unity and statement on imperialism do not reflect this. We have too often turned inward to define VVAW/WSO (through the many discussions around the objectives and the drawing up of the principles of unity). Instead of continuing to do this, we should be turning to the masses of vets and GIs and bringing them into struggle, building those struggles, and winning people to fight around our national program. Because of this, the following proposal was made:

**PROPOSAL:** That VVAW/WSO not adopt the Principles of Unity and Statement on Imperialism. Also, we should do away with the 10 Objectives.

**VOTE:** This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

It was discussed that the "What is VVAW/WSO" should remain in WINTER SOLDIER as a mass statement of what the organization and our fighting program is all about. This statement should change, when necessary, to reflect the struggles VVAW/WSO is involved in.

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On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished the following pamphlet:

-- by the National Office Collective

In April, the Southern California sub-regional meeting expelled from VVAW/WSO the chapters in the Northern sub-region, elected a new regional coordinator, recognized new leadership in the North, and set conditions for individuals in the North to rejoin the organization. The National Collective supports these actions and urges the rest of the organization to ratify them at the July National Steering Committee Meeting (NSCM). The expulsion is correct, and is absolutely essential so that VVAW/WSO can continue to grow in the future.

We say "continue to grow" because growth is what's key in our organization today. Chapters boldly, consistently implementing the program and focus, as decided by the last NSCM, are reaching vets and GIs, and are slowly but concretely bringing them into VVAW/WSO. Many of these new members have directly felt attacks by the system, through unemployment, VA maltreatment, police repression, on-the-job discrimination or use as scabs against other workers, or simply surviving under the racism and repression of the military. VVAW/WSO, by going out to these people, has provided them with a concrete way to organize to fight for what they need, and learning through practice to fight for what is needed by other people oppressed by the system. This process of involving the un-involved vets and GIs in struggle is the primary thing going for us in VVAW/WSO today.

There are some chapters which are having real problems with the program and focus. Some of these chapters agree with the decision of the organization and are trying to implement the program, though they have not yet found the way it can best be done in their communities. Others did not agree with the decision, but because it was the democratic decision of the organization, have tried to find ways to implement that program. Many of these chapters are in small or medium-sized towns, and don't have the targets of work like the VA or unemployment offices at which to aim their work. As an organization, we need to figure out ways to help these chapters; we in the National Collective have no instant solutions, but believe these chapters are an integral part of the organization. It may take time and collective struggle to work out these problems.

Finally, there are a group of chapters which have consciously tried to subvert and undermine the implementation of the program and focus of the organization. These chapters show contempt for the decision of the organization by their outright refusal to follow, or even try to follow, what was said by the NSCM; they are not part of the national organization. Northern California, St. Louis, Buffalo and Dayton all fall into this category. These chapters are excluded from VVAW/WSO by their own words and their own practice. The NSCM needs only to recognize what is already fact: these chapters are not part of VVAW/WSO.

Some people, both inside VVAW/WSO and more so outside the organization, have said that the expulsion by Southern California and the disbanding of the Dayton chapter by that regional meeting are signs that VVAW/WSO is falling to pieces. We



say nonsense; so do c...rs who, through their prac...ee the gains which the program and focus bring to our organization. Instead, these actions mean that the organization is ridding itself of chapters and people who try to nail our organizational feet to the ground to prevent us from moving ahead. And the organization is stronger, is better able to move forward as a result of their removal.

There have also been questions about whether the action, particularly in California, was "legal." We believe that is the wrong question: the action was right, because it served the vast majority of members of VVAW/WSO. Even more, it served the interests of the masses of vets and GIs who are struggling against their oppression. The action by Southern California was also entirely democratic for the same reason: it carried into practice the decision of the NSCM.

There's room in our organization for many different ideas. There's room for a variety of local projects and support work. There's room for different approaches and activities around organizing vets and GIs. We believe that a mass organization has to be open, and that there must be struggle between political views. But there is no room at all for people who undermine the basic national program of the organization and who try to prevent the building of a fighting vets and GI movement.

The expulsion of Northern California is only one step in the continuing progress of our organization: it must be ratified at the NSCM. Other chapters which have been saying and doing the same kinds of things as Northern California -- subverting the focus and program -- must be dealt with the same way as the Northern California chapters. There have been a number of important decisions made in the last year: base and focus, program. More decisions still need to be made around strengthening the program, as well as a new working paper, democratizing the organization further, principles of unity. In each case, the organization will decide on the basis of what will help us grow and what will help the overall struggle move forward.

We have made a number of statements about a few chapters and ex-chapters. Now to back up these statements. Some of what we are saying many members of the organization already know. Some of it is in the Southern California statement about why they expelled the chapters in the North -- all chapters should have received that paper and read it and we will not try to repeat all that is said there. Some of it is new information. But it adds up to overwhelming reasons why these chapters are not part of the organization.

Almost a year ago, the majority of the leadership in Northern California decided against the base and focus of the organization. Even after the organization resolved the struggle at the last NSCM, Northern California chapters refused to implement the focus through the national program. Instead, they claimed they had tried to implement the focus and program, and that it didn't work (a "discovery" based on no practice; in one case, a new organizing committee said it had implemented the program but all of three weeks later found it didn't work!) One indicator of these chapters' approach to the focus and program is found in the structure

they established. Chapters in the area work through chapter committees which take leadership around major areas of work -- political prisoners, Indochina, internal education, etc. No chapter set up a Veterans and/or VA committee; as a cover-your-ass device, the sub-region concocted one sub-regional committee for that work -- which is the focus and program of the national organization! Is this the way to organize vets who are looking for a way to fight back? Certainly not!

When certain members of these chapters who have consistently supported the focus and program disagreed with what the chapters were doing and saying, they were physically threatened. One such member was actually put on trial: the San Francisco chapter "convicted" him of the "crime" of being a secret member of the RU, based primarily on the fact that he supports the national program of VVAW/WSO. Not only is this wholly unprincipled struggle, but it is in direct service to the police who are much interested in allegations of "secret cadre." Even more importantly, these members who supported the decisions made by the rest of the organization were blocked at every turn from implementing the national program. In San Jose, two members were going to a community college attended by large numbers of vets; the rest of the chapter -- and particularly its leadership -- used a series of bureaucratic tricks to prevent these two people from taking the program out to these vets and bringing them into struggle. In another case, one brother from Oakland was moving to Salinas. The regional leadership made a decision that this person could not organize for VVAW/WSO in Salinas; they knew full well that a chapter in Salinas would be built as a result of taking the national program out to the masses of vets and uniting with their struggles. Regional leadership did everything they could to prevent this from happening.

While Northern California chapters were paying lip-service to the national program, and while San Francisco was devoting its energies to witch-hunting trials, chapters like New York City were out at the VA and unemployment offices, selling papers, talking to vets, and growing. The members of the chapter did not need a special Vets/VA committee because the chapter, including the new members, see this as their primary work. Sure, the chapter worked around May Day and organized to get people to the massive "Jobs or Income" Rally in Washington, DC on April 26th. These support activities helped the chapter grow, in conjunction with their principal vets work. They certainly did not waste their time with secret trials; people who want to work around the national program are exactly the people they want in their chapter.

Northern California is not alone in refusing to implement the focus and program. In Buffalo, New York, after a long period of theoretical discussion, the chapter decided to have nothing to do with the focus or program; instead, they developed their own program of work. Before that decision was formalized, a leading member of the Buffalo chapter, in conversation with the National Collective, told us that the principled thing for the chapter to do was to leave the organization if it could not work around the national focus and program. We agreed then, and we agree now. At present, for vets in Buffalo who see the need to build a vets movement, there is no place to go to build that movement, the Buffalo chapter must get out of the way so that the work of VVAW/WSO can move ahead in that city.

The same is true of Dayton, Ohio, where the old chap. refused to implement the program, sell the paper, or pay national dues. The Regional Meeting declared the chapter defunct and recognized an individual who wanted to build a chapter of the national organization as the new Dayton contact. Was this correct? Of course it was. Participating in this unanimous decision were two chapters, Detroit and Cincinnati, who have the experience of militant, consistent actions around the organizational program.

In St. Louis, the chapter has consistently opposed the direction of VVAW/WSO and vocally supported the "minority caucus" at the last NSCM. After the meeting, the chapter refused to move with the rest of the organization in implementing the program. As a result, after much struggle, Rich Bangert resigned from the chapter in order to build a chapter in St. Louis which would be a real part of the national organization. Should this new chapter be supported in its day-to-day work at the VA, work which is bringing vets into struggle? Definitely. While this work is going on, the only action (so far as we know) carried out by the old "chapter" has been a demonstration on Vietnam Vets Day where chapter members dressed up as a Vietnamese peasant, a worker, and a vet, and stood in front of crosses in order "to bring home the lessons of the Vietnam era" (their description). Do we have any use for a so-called "chapter" which masquerades as workers, peasants and vets, and stands on the steps of a war memorial building holding crosses because (so the "chapter" said) it's Easter weekend and the masses of people will relate to the symbolism? Decidedly not! No matter how gratifying this kind of action may be to the members of the "chapter," it does absolutely nothing in the interests of vets and GIs. On the same day in Boston, 200-225 people held a militant demo around Jobs or Income, We Won't Fight Your Imperialist Wars and Decent Benefits for All Vets. Ten vets, most of them contacted off that demo, came to a general meeting. While St. Louis was crucifying the working class and the Indochinese people, VVAW/WSO members in Milwaukee were fighting back against the mace of GSA guards while vets in the VA Hospital there clamored to unite with the chapter. Who is moving VVAW/WSO and the vets movement forward?

Each of these non-organizational "chapters" was a member of the so-called "minority caucus" at the last NSCM. The history of that caucus can teach us all some real lessons important to our future work. The caucus, made up of a number of people who disagreed with our focus and program for various reasons, met twice during the NSCM. The first such meeting, though not publically announced, was more or less open, though people attending were sworn to secrecy. The second meeting admitted only those people who were, at that time, opposed to the national focus. On the floor of the NSCM, the caucus stated that it intended "to work in the future by putting forth anti-imperialist politics in the context of the Vets and GI focus" (from the St. Louis NSCM Minutes). Even then, some of the delegates to that meeting expressed concern about the caucus turning into a faction. They knew that the seeds of a faction which would try to split the organization was already present. This is exactly what has happened.

At that meeting, in response to the concern about factionalizing, Jeanie Dolly (one of the leaders of the caucus) assured the NSCM that the caucus would remain open and above-board, that the NO would get copies of whatever the caucus was discuss-

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sing, work reports, etc. while the members of the caucus implemented the program to the best of their ability. This has not happened. Instead, the NO was informed, in a letter from Dolly on March 10th, "You will receive the final drafts of whatever is coming out, but not the interim letters that produce the final... As for summations of discussions, we will not, as far as I can see, be putting out such things... I will be sending you some of the stuff when it is done..." This is a far different position than that stated at the NSCM where the NO (and any chapter requesting the information) would receive "everything" in order to demonstrate that the caucus was "honest" and "open."

A later mailing from Dolly consisted of a report drawn up for the March 16th Northern California sub-regional meeting. A "Statement from the Northern California Anti-Imperialist Caucus" (NCAIC) seems to be a statement of unity for the caucus (copies of this statement are being sent out along with this paper). It says that caucus meetings will be held once a month and "are open to the membership of VVAW/WSO in California who wish to attend." Excellent! But the statement continues, "The caucus is not open to members of VVAW/WSO who are in the RU or openly support the politics of the Revolutionary Union." Something has happened to the "open" and "honest" caucus. Since the RU position on base and focus and program of the organization is the same as the position decided on by VVAW/WSO nationally, the caucus is apparently closed to anyone who is actually a member of the organization and is implementing the democratic decisions of the organization. This is no longer a "caucus," but a faction working against the organization and certainly working against a vets and GI movement. There is no basis for the NCAIC to even pretend it is part of VVAW/WSO.

The NCAIC statement goes on to say that "The caucus is in contact and communication with many chapters and individuals nationally. We are sharing our practice and beginning to formulate national programs which reflect OUR politics and practice to be presented to the national organization at the next NSCM (emphasis ours)." Despite the professions about openness and honesty, the NO knows nothing of these communications (all of this was taking place before the Northern California chapters were expelled from the organization). We already have a national program; that program is certainly open to criticism, and the next NSCM should see changes in that program which arise from the practice of chapters. Does outright rejection of that program, based not on the practice of the faction (since they have none), but on what they would like to see happen show an interest in moving the organization forward? No!

A private organizational program, their own leadership, secret meetings, secret communications networks: all of these things can lead to only one conclusion. Their purpose is to undermine the work of VVAW/WSO. The article in "Seize the Time" (which was sent out with the Southern California paper), either written by or in close collaboration with the leadership of the faction advocates organizing against the majority of the organization. There is none of the openness and honesty, the setting forth of a concrete position, which is needed for real struggle. This has no place in a mass organization, and the people involved in it have no place in VVAW/WSO. As an organization, we must discard this faction, and particularly its misleadership, into the nearest garbage heap where it belongs.

Within the last month, we have heard from Northern California (not from the faction leadership) that chapters are now implementing the program. Apparently, people have conveniently forgotten their pious pronouncements of how they were allegedly implementing the program in the past, and have decided to start all over again. We see this tactic for what it is: a dishonest and shallow attempt to gain some kind of credibility in the organization. If the leadership were actually implementing the program, honest vets recruited through that program would soon dispense with that leadership. But their history tells us that these people will not implement the program anymore honestly this time than they did before; though snakes can shed their skin, they are still snakes underneath.

By our organization decision, VVAW/WSO has a huge task ahead. We've seen that we have the capability and the duty to speak to and for masses of vets who want to organize against the system. How we can best do that is the question which confronts every member of the organization. Chapters which chase away vets, because all they have to offer them is study groups (a primary activity in Northern California and Buffalo) or crucifixions -- but no program for building a vets movement -- these are chapters we don't want and can't afford. By their practice, they are holding back all the rest of us who clearly see our task and are working to accomplish it.

Nor is there a place for chapters who feel their only obligation to the organization is to occasionally wear a button and write VVAW/WSO on their stationary. Chapters which say they have to "do their own thing" are showing their disdain of the need for discipline and principled unity in a national mass organization. Worse, they are showing their total contempt for other members of VVAW/WSO, people who through struggle and practice have taken on the task which the national program aims at.

Because we have supported the actions in Ohio and Southern California, we've been accused of heartlessness, harshness, inhumanity. There is a real trap in the question, "How could people vote out of the organization our 'brothers and sisters' with whom we have worked for so long?" Amid the moaning and groaning and buckets of crocodile tears, we answer that there are people more important than our self-proclaimed brothers and sisters. VVAW/WSO is not designed for the self-gratification or self-cultivation of our members' egos. Instead, our task is to provide the organizational form for the vet who is unemployed, who is being strung-out on the VA methadone program, who is calling for a nurse in a VA hospital only to find that she was fired in the latest round of cutbacks. We have an obligation to the vet who came home from Vietnam with a drug habit and now sits in isolation in a state prison looking for help. These, and the hundreds and thousands of other vets and GIs, who have immediate and painful experience with repression in its many forms. We can involve them in the fight against these immediate targets and against the system which lies behind them. In fact, that is what is happening in many places around the country today. If to build that fighting movement requires the political decision to throw off the baggage which prevents us from moving faster and in more places, then that is the only correct decision to make, and we say, the sooner the better.

**BUILD THE FIGHTING VETS & GI MOVEMENT!**

**BUILD VVAW/WSO!**

III. OFFICERS

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During the August, 1974 NSCM held at Buffalo, New York, BRIAN ADAMS, RICHARD BANGERT, EDWARD DAMATO, PETER ZASTROW, SAMUEL SCHORR and MARLA WATSON were re-elected as VVAW/WSO National Coordinators. It was noted, however, that BANGERT would leave the National Office in October, 1974, and that ADAMS would leave the National Office in January, 1975.

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During the December, 1974 NSCM held at St. Louis, Missouri, EDWARD DAMATO, WILLIAM DAVIS and MARLA WATSON were re-elected as VVAW/WSO National Coordinators.

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1/27/75;  
1/29/75) *b2*  
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*Early last year*  
During a July 8, 1975, VVAW/WSO meeting in New York City, it was stated that PETER ZASTROW, BARRY ROMO and SAMUEL SCHORR were elected as VVAW/WSO National Coordinators during the last NSCM, but that SCHORR would be leaving the National Office within a few weeks. *(R)*

[REDACTED] 7/11/75) *b2*  
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The minutes of the 15th VVAW/WSO NSCM reflected that the terms of National Coordinators ADAMS, SCHORR and ZASTROW ended and that ZASTROW and BARRY ROMO were unanimously elected to one year terms as National Coordinators.

[REDACTED] 7/28/75)  
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IV. MEMBERSHIP

The estimated membership of the VVAW/WSO is probably between 500 and 750.

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V. PUBLICATIONS

The National Office of the VVAW/WSO publishes and distributes the "Winter Soldier" newspaper on a monthly basis. Periodically they publish a newsletter which contains general information regarding their activities on a regional and national basis. This newsletter is distributed to active VVAW/WSO regions. The VVAW/WSO publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "VVAW/WSO GI News". This newsletter specializes in matters of GI interest. Also, they publish a newsletter for prisoners entitled "Inside/Out" that is sent to all VVAW/WSO chapters as an aid for prison support work.

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On April 7, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished VVAW/WSO newsletter number 35, March 23, 1975, which indicated that it cost approximately \$685 to print 14,000 copies of the March issue of "Winter Soldier" and that because of the lack of money, the April issue would not be printed, but might possibly be combined with a May issue. | b2  
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On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] furnished VVAW/WSO newsletter number 37, June 12, 1975, which set forth the following information: |

WINTER SOLDIER -- No Color this Month

Enclosed with this newsletter is the June/July issue of WS. During the past 4-5 months, our printing schedule has gotten all jacked out of shape, partly because of a lack of money and partly because of an extremely busy time in the NO. This has meant that the last two issues of the paper have been double issues (April/May and June/July). To get back on schedule, we have printed this most recent issue in early June, with the next issue going to press in mid-July (after the NSCM). Hopefully, after the next issue is printed, we can maintain our schedule of a mid-month publication date, which will mean that the papers will be getting to chapters at the first of each month.

It should be obvious to everyone that this month's issue of the paper is black and white. Several chapters have been saying for some time that the color is not necessary since it is an added expense and doesn't make any difference in terms of selling WS. We did not have a poster this month, so decided it would be a good time to try a black and white issue. The cost of the paper was considerably cheaper as a result. Chapters should discuss the question of color on WS so that we can talk about this in the WINTER SOLDIER workshop at the national meeting. There are many things that must be summed up about the newspaper at the NSCM, and color will be only a small part of the discussion. Hopefully, the papers will reach the regions prior to the NSCM so that we can have some experience in selling the paper to go into this discussion so as to make a better determination of whether or not color helps the paper, or whether it is unnecessary.

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CG 100-50772

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b7D

On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] made available the minutes of the 15th NSCM, which set forth the following information in regard to the "Winter Soldier" workshop:

WINTER SOLDIER WORKSHOP

In summing up WINTER SOLDIER, the workshop felt that the paper has really advanced since the last NSCM. It has started to become rooted in the real life struggles of the masses of vets. In the past, the paper has been characterized by "anti-imperialism in the sky," standing above or rather outside of the struggles of the masses of vets, being more oriented towards the "movement" and the internal life of VVAW/WSO. As reflected in the last WS, when the paper actively takes up the day-to-day struggles of the people and puts those struggles forward in a lively way, it is a key tool to building the fighting vets movement.

The workshop summed up that this change was due to the fact that the organization as a whole is becoming more and more rooted in the struggles of vets. The best articles in the paper have come from chapters sending in reports of an action or struggle they are involved in. Even more important, articles that have been written by chapters on their activities have best provided the basis for good WS articles. The NO cannot pull good articles from the sky, nor can the NO stay on top of all struggles that are arising throughout the country. It is vital that chapters and individuals sum up their work and submit articles for the paper. Only then will the paper reflect what this organization and the masses of vets are doing.

The paper still has some room to improve. There were articles in the last issue that still were "movement" oriented. One such was the call for the Armed Forces demos where vets and GIs were called on to join us in OUR demo. It sort

of said, "Here re -- the movement -- have action and you masses are welcome to come. It did not unite with vets and and show how it was their action. Another example was the sum-up of AFD where the struggles going on the particular bases were submerged. What came out was the old number one trying to pad the amount of demonstrators as if that was key to the success of the actions. Basically, it was felt that these errors arose when articles were not based on summations from the chapters that had built the struggle, and saw the organization as more important than the masses.

During the discussion of the paper, an example of an important error in how people see the paper arose. In the last issue, there was an article on "No Drug in China." This article was criticized as being "too advanced" and that it was telling out that we are a "revolutionary vets movement instead of a fighting vets movement." The workshop felt that this outlook was indicative of a major error that is coming out in our work. That is that we should not bring vets to a higher understanding through positive examples like the Peoples' Republic, that the error saw us confined to militant economic struggles and not taking up questions of what the future can hold for the masses. This error trailed after the spontaneous struggle of vets.

The workshop also talked about some technical aspects of the paper but did not feel that these needed to be taken up by the rest of the organization. There are a few things that will immensely help in putting out the paper. One is sum-ups of actions. Two are photos of actions. Three is crucial -- chapters and regions must tell the NO BEFORE an issue is put out how many papers it wants. Also, chapters are again encouraged to seek out institutional subscriptions for the paper. This is a good way of financing its production. Individuals, either members or others, should be encouraged to write the paper, criticizing, praising or whatever so that these can be reprinted. The paper must be seen by the masses of vets: THEIR paper, not just a rag they get once in awhile at the VA or elsewhere.

We summed up that there has not arisen a need for part of the paper to be in Spanish, although it may become necessary in the future. None of the delegates present reported problems from having the paper entirely in English, and we did not feel that a section was needed just for the principle of having one.

Plenary Discussion: During the discussion of the workshop report, it was brought out that only six people attended the WS workshop. This is because some regions did not see the importance of the workshop; two lines came out regarding this question. On one hand, people said that the newspaper should be a reflection of the national program and work of the chapters, so the workshops dealing with summing up our work and strengthening the program were of primary importance. The other line stated that WS is one of the most important national tools we have for building the vets movement, and that the low attendance at the workshop reflects the fact that chapters have not taken up the newspaper in a living way and consistently tried to improve WS through criticisms, summations, input into the paper, etc. It was generally agreed that the organization as a whole has not adequately taken up the paper as their own and that chapters have been bad at getting

criticisms of the paper into the NO. This must be corrected if the paper is to be a really effective tool for building the fighting vets movement; chapters have to view WS as their newspaper and struggle to make the paper a better reflection of their struggles.

The discussion on the floor also went into the question of having a Spanish section in the newspaper. It was generally agreed that we need more investigation because we don't have enough practice with Spanish-speaking vets to know if the lack of a Spanish section is limiting our work. It was suggested that chapters do this investigation by producing bi-lingual leaflets. We will then be in a better position to sum-up whether or not having an all-English paper is holding back our work among Spanish-speaking veterans.

Information recently received from the VVAW/WSO National Office indicated that before a new issue of the "Winter Soldier" could be printed, the National Office would have to raise a large amount of money. (X)

[REDACTED] 8/26/75)

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VI. FINANCES

During the December, 1974 NSCM, SAMUEL SCHORR gave the National Office report in regard to finances, stating the National Office was approximately \$25,000 in debt.

[REDACTED] 1/7/75;  
/27/75;  
/29/75)

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[REDACTED] advised on April 3, 1975, that the VVAW/WSO issued the following letter:



# VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/ WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, INC.



## NATIONAL OFFICE

827 West Newport  
Chicago, Illinois 60657  
Tel. (312) 935-2129

March 25, 1975

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The National Office is in a desperate financial situation. We have no money. We feel that it is essential that the organization support itself, and that chapters support the work of the organization -- both politically and financially. Unfortunately, this state of affairs has not yet developed in VVAW/WSO, though it will be crucial to develop this kind of internal funding and self-reliance in the future. Because we still rely on outside sources for the vast majority of our money, we have been doing direct-mail fund-raising (i. e. mailing thousands of letters out to people all across the country and asking them to contribute). At this time, we have a huge mailer ready to go out into the mail, but there is one problem -- we can't afford to get it printed, pay the postage, etc. If we are unable to get this mailer out, the day will come (in the very near future) when there will be nowhere nearly adequate money coming into this office.

The day is rapidly approaching when we will have no money at all coming in and no methods of getting the money needed to get the new mailer into the mail; when that happens, we will have no alternative but to shut down the National Office. We feel that the organization has already been set back by the lack of an April issue of WINTER SOLDIER. The organization needs a number of different pamphlets which we are planning to produce, we need buttons, we need the regular publication of our national newspapers (WS and GI NEWS). The organization also needs a National Office.

At this point, things look bleak as far as the financial status of the NO is concerned. Because of this, we are asking all chapters to make a special contribution to keeping this office open and producing the things VVAW/WSO needs. If 50 chapters hold special fund-raising benefits or activities and send \$100 (or more) to the NO, we would have enough money to get the fund-raiser into the mail and begin operating again at full steam (ie, get the newspaper, go ahead with the pamphlets, etc). If you can only afford \$50, that will help.

We realize that many chapters are having financial problems also, but these special fund-raisers could be put on by the chapters with the proceeds being split between the local chapter and the NO. A special fund-raising effort is essential on the chapter level. Without it, we may go under. Please begin moving on this problem immediately. If we can be of any assistance (ie, providing ideas, etc) please let us know; some ideas on fund-raising from the Buffalo chapter are enclosed. We hope to be hearing from all of you in the very near future.

VII. NATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND CONNECTIONS  
WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. VVAW/WSO Activities of National Coordinators

On December 16, 1974, EDWARD DAMATO, one of the VVAW/WSO National Coordinators, spoke at a Chicago chapter VVAW/WSO sponsored demonstration held at the Veterans Administration Research Hospital, 333 East Huron, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED] 12/31/74)

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b7D

During a March 15 - 16, 1975 VVAW/WSO regional conference held at the State University of New York, Oneonta Campus, Oneonta, New York, PETER ZASTROW, one of the VVAW/WSO National Coordinators, led discussions on whether the VVAW/WSO should continue as a mass-oriented organization as opposed to a small cadre of dedicated followers and whether to allow the National Office to dictate policy to the various regions and make changes in the wording of their bylaws. (X)

[REDACTED] 3/18/75)

b2  
b7D

On March 23, 1975, EDWARD DAMATO attended a VVAW/WSO regional meeting in Columbus, Ohio, where it was mentioned that he had been in Detroit the past two weeks working with their VVAW/WSO chapter. (X)

[REDACTED] 3/31/75)

b2  
b7D

On April 2, 1975, BRIAN ADAMS, as a representative of the VVAW/WSO National Office, participated in a VVAW/WSO

sponsored demonstration at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[REDACTED] 4/3/75)

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b7D

On May 17, 1975, the VVAW/WSO sponsored an Armed Forces Day demonstration at Ft. Meade, Maryland. WILLIAM DAVIS and BRIAN ADAMS of the VVAW/WSO National Office participated, with ADAMS, as one of the speakers, stating that the United States is going to war again and that war is inevitable in capitalist countries.

[REDACTED] 5/21/75)

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b7D

It was learned that during a June 6 - 8, 1975, VVAW/WSO regional meeting held in Buffalo, New York, PETER ZASTROW managed to alienate most of those in attendance with his pro-Revolutionary Union rhetoric and arguments concerning the possible alliance of the VVAW/WSO and the Revolutionary Union. (S)

[REDACTED] 6/18/75)

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b7D

B. Anti-Imperialist Faction of VVAW/WSO

During the period June 27 - 30, 1975, a national caucus of the anti-imperialist faction of the VVAW/WSO was held in St. Louis, Missouri. The approximately 67 participants were representing 25 VVAW/WSO chapters that were opposed to the political line of the national program of the VVAW/WSO and the influence that the Revolutionary Union was exerting on the VVAW/WSO.

The caucus indicated it was their desire to form a new national organization whose purpose would be to take



up an armed revolution against the United States which would be communist supported, but not controlled by the Revolutionary Union (RU). This group adopted the temporary name of National Anti-Imperialist Forces. Also the Northern California, St. Louis, Missouri and St. Paul, Minnesota chapters indicated they were not adopting the new name and would continue to call themselves the VVAW/WSO.

A constitution and formal name for the new organization will be drawn up by the California, St. Louis and New York chapters and presented for approval to those chapters present at the June, 1975 caucus. Subsequently, a caucus will be held to adopt the constitution and name.

[REDACTED] 7/75) b2  
b7D

C. Activity in Connection With Gary Lawton Defense Committee

On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] b2 b7D made available VVAW/WSO newsletter number 37, June 12, 1975, which set forth the following information in regard to the Gary Lawton Defense Committee:

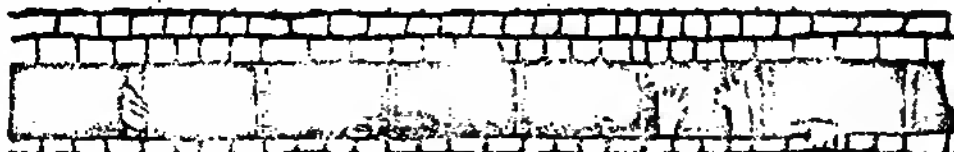
## Gary Lawton Freed!

On May 12th, nearly four years to the day he was arrested, Gary Lawton was found innocent of the ambush slayings of two Riverside, California policemen. As soon as the National Office received word of this verdict, we began calling regional offices and told them to call chapters. So, hopefully, all chapters were aware of this victory before now. This is a real victory and one that came as the result of four years of hard work and struggle. VVAW/WSO played a very important role in bringing about this victory since the struggle to free Gary Lawton was adopted as a national project of the organization in 1972. Though the organization's work around Gary's struggle often fell short of what we should have been doing and though most chapters did not always take up this national project in a consistent way, during the last year, VVAW/WSO's Lawton work had improved a great deal as chapters began taking the struggle out to their communities and linking it up with the hundreds of other struggles being waged to fight police repression -- making the fight for Gary's freedom a living thing and something concrete for thousands of people across the country. It was mass struggle and the building of a movement of people who were demanding Gary's freedom that brought about the victory in Riverside. Though we made many mistakes in our Lawton work, we should still feel proud that VVAW/WSO was a part of making this victory a reality.

For those of you who have been following the smaller details of Lawton's struggle, in 1971, Gary was charged with shooting into an occupied dwelling. This incident was alleged to have occurred in 1968. The prosecution in the murder case had been making rumblings about trying Lawton on these charges once the present trial was completed and a verdict had been decided. A week after the verdict of innocent was returned in the case of the ambush killings, Lawton was in court again to hear the disposition of these 1971 charges for the shooting incident. At that time, another victory was won when the prosecution stated they had no objections to these charges being dropped.

**FREEDOM FOR ONE IS NOT  
ENOUGH--  
FREE US ALL, SAY ON!**

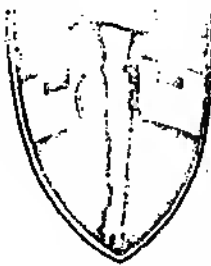
A representative of the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee will be at the next NSGM to sum-up the struggle to free Gary, including the role that VVAW/WSO has played in this fight. Chapters and regions should also sum up their work around this national project so that we can better learn from our mistakes and successes. Our work around police and political repression is far from over, and we should take the lessons learned from our Lawton work so as to apply them to continuing work to fight police attacks in our communities.



CG 100-50772

D. Activity in Connection with Indochina Peace Campaign

On July 25, 1975, [REDACTED]<sup>52 b7D</sup> furnished the following letter from the VVAW/WSO National Office Collective to Indochina Peace Campaign members:



# VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/ WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, INC.

NATIONAL OFFICE 827 West Newport Chicago, Illinois 60657 Tel. (312) 935-2129

June 3, 1975

Dear IPC Members,

The Vietnamese and Cambodians have won great victories. They have fought and beaten the strongest military in the world, bringing freedom and independence to their lands. It was a victory that clearly showed the people of the world that small nations and a unified people can topple the mightiest of aggressors. The Indochinese have waged a mighty battle aided by progressive people and organizations throughout the world. While the Indochinese must continue to wipe out the remnants of colonialism and imperialism and move forward to socialism, we can rejoice with them in a victory that was helped by continuous support of the people of the United States, including organizations such as IPC and VVAW/WSO.

However, we cannot sit back on our laurels and consider our work done. We are engaged in a struggle in the United States aimed ultimately at ending the exploitation and oppression of the American people. The struggle for freedom in Indochina was not easy; nor is that struggle easy in the US. But by integrating ourselves in the day-to-day struggles of the American people, constantly summing up our work and being guided by a correct understanding of the material world in our battles and by moving forward, we too will one day celebrate our victory over US imperialism.

VVAW/WSO was, and is, engaged in such a struggle. The great majority of our organization stands firmly on the side of the working class and has taken up the task of organizing veterans and GIs to fight against the exploitation of the system; a fight that included our support for the people of Indochina in their wars of liberation.

The Indochina Peace Campaign is engaged in such a struggle also. We read with great interest the article in the Michigan Free Press about the IPC National Standing Committee (NSC) meeting, at which you began to earnestly take up the task of summing up your work with your eyes directed toward the future. The article in the Free Press outlined some of the questions that will be discussed internally by your organization. While we have views on the various questions, we will not put them forward here in this letter, but will rather direct our attention to the slanders put forward by your NSC on the nature of the struggle in VVAW/WSO, as was reported in the Free Press.

The article written by George dePue of the Ann Arbor IPC reeked of contempt for the struggle of the Vietnamese and for the role the American people played in building mass support for their fight for liberation in Indochina. He brazenly put forward that it was IPC and the congressional strategy that succeeded in ending the war, rather than the Indochinese people fighting for freedom, along with the support of the great majority of the Americans, among others, who were outraged by the continuing aggression of the US imperialists. This type of conceit and self-gratification is the mark of a pompous movement guru enshrining himself in an ivory tower away from understanding that it is the masses of people who make history.

We can only guess how much this contempt permeates the decisions made at the IPC NSC meeting in attempt to expel the NYC-IPC chapter. The justifications of that 'expulsion' -- "the apparent RU 'capture' of the VVAW/WSO national office and even the creation of puppet VVAW/WSO chapters" is a slanderous attack, based on fiction, to stifle struggle within your organization. VVAW/WSO is a healthy organization, with many chapters around the country, including the Detroit chapter, actively working to build a fighting veterans movement. While it is true that some chapters have left our organization, while others are being disbanded, it is the result of a struggle waged in the organization around how to move the organization forward based on political line. We are a stronger organization now than a year ago, when we had more chapters. The reason this is true is because the organization is looking to the future after summing up our role in the past and by actively working in the day-to-day struggles of veterans and GIs. Our organization is on the threshold of making a major leap in our work. Chapters are firmly rooting themselves in the struggles of the working class, particularly veterans, and our membership is beginning to reflect a real change in the make-up of the organization.

Rather than having hindered our work, as the IPC NSC would have you believe, the members of the Revolutionary Union in our organization have played an active role in helping sum up our work, aiding in the formulation of our national program and implementing it in order to build a fighting veterans movement. The RU has not 'captured' the organization, but instead, plays an important role in its growth and direction. To say anything else is to say that the majority of members of VVAW/WSO are stupid and unable to see the importance of our work in the revolutionary struggle in this country. This is exactly the lie that is put forward by dePue in the Free Press, (May 21st issue). We hope that other members of the IPC NSC aren't so grossly shallow in their understanding of VVAW/WSO. The great majority of our membership has a very high regard for the practice of the Revolutionary Union. What the great majority of our organization has the utmost disdain for are hippies pontificating from their ragsheets, removed from mass struggle, such as dePue.

The vicious and reactionary reasons put forward in the Free Press for expelling the NYC IPC chapter are slanderous and dangerous, and can only serve the interests of our enemy. VVAW/WSO cannot be used as a scapegoat by some individuals who are afraid of political struggle and afraid to engage in mass work aimed at moving forward our struggle against imperialism. We feel it important that the membership of the local IPC chapters understand that these justifications for that expulsion are based on lies. VVAW/WSO is not a shambles, nor is it an organization led by the nose by the RU. It is a healthy, growing organization engaged in building a fighting movement of veterans and GIs to struggle against their oppression and to fight in the interests of the working class.

We hope that the present struggle in the Indochina Peace Campaign can proceed on a principled, political level, free of slanderous lies, with an eye to the future to bring forward the lessons of the victories of the Indochinese peoples and to strike blows at the imperialist system.

In Struggle,

The National Office Collective  
VVAW/WSO

CG 100-50772

E. Activity in Connection with National Alliance  
Against Racist and Political Repression

On January 24, 1975, [REDACTED]<sup>b2 b7D</sup> furnished the following letter from the VVAW/WSO National Coordinators:



# WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION, INC.



## NATIONAL OFFICE

827 West Newport  
Chicago, Illinois 60657  
Tel. (312) 935-2129

January 14, 1975

To: The Officers of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR)

From: The National Coordinators of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO)

On the evening of June 14th, Gary Lawton was invited to speak at a meeting sponsored by the Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. He did not attend. Instead his wife, Chukia Lawton, attended the meeting and handed Angela Davis a letter from Gary explaining why he couldn't participate. Since that evening VVAW/WSO has discussed the letter from Gary and the remarks he made about the Alliance and Angela Davis. In various internal documents the National Office of VVAW/WSO presented the letter from Gary to Angela and commented on the nature of it. These comments raised serious questions about the nature of the NAARPR. The National Office of VVAW/WSO stands by these remarks and will go into them more deeply in this letter.

In the September issue of WINTER SOLDIER, our national newspaper, we reprinted Gary's letter with an explanation of why it was written. This explanation pointed out several issues raised in Gary's letter concerning the practice of the Alliance in regard to Gary's case and the case of Ruchell Magee. We stated in that introduction that we felt the issues raised were of interest to political prisoners around the country and that these people should be aware of the Alliance's practice in regard to these two cases.

In October, you, the officers of the Alliance sent an open letter to the chapters of VVAW/WSO implying that we were playing a role similar to that of the government in criticizing Angela Davis, the Communist Party USA, (CPUSA) and the NAARPR. We feel that we should comment on sections of your letter that grossly distort the true nature of our remarks.

One of the co-signers of the Alliance letter pointed out over the telephone that the source of the material for your letter was a VVAW/WSO publication, a prison newsletter called "Inside/Out". This is not true. The quotes from the Alliance letter were taken from an internal document of VVAW/WSO -- this document being the National Office Report to the 13th National Steering Committee Meeting of VVAW/WSO, held in Buffalo, New York in August of 1974. An internal document we might point out, is not a public document. In spite of this obvious fact the letter written by the Alliance freely quotes it, thus exposing the real source of your attack on VVAW/WSO. We condemn you for using this internal document, but as a result we feel it necessary to respond to your attack.

The only public statements we made about Angela Davis and the Alliance were in a letter written by Gary Lawton, with our introduction, printed in the September issue of WINTER SOLDIER. Apparently, The Alliance and Angela Davis do not care to deal with

the criticisms contained in this letter, because Gary's letter had not been responded to. Instead, you have chosen to deal with our internal documents rather than a public letter.

When the Alliance was first formed in May of 1973 VVAW/WSO members participated in its first conference. At that time we felt that it was important to do so because we could see that such an organizational form would be a giant step forward in defending political prisoners throughout the country. While we had questions about its formation we believed these to be secondary to the main purpose of uniting many defense committees and organizations. At that conference one of our members of the National Office, Barry Romo, was elected as a member of the Alliance's National Executive Board and he participated in at least two meetings of that group. The nature of his election was one which we questioned as he was not notified of either his nomination or election to that body until the meeting was over. We felt at the time that this too was questionable, but were willing to let that stand aside as we felt the Alliance was important. Subsequently, the National Office decided that he should no longer be a member of the National Executive Board; nor should any member of VVAW/WSO. As a result, at the Second Annual Conference of the Alliance, which we attended as observers, nobody from VVAW/WSO was put forward in nomination. This was done because we felt that the Alliance was no longer working in the best interests of political prisoners. We did not make this decision lightly, but only after looking at the practice of the Alliance.

We agree when you say that it is necessary to defend political prisoners. However, we disagree with the thrust of the work being done by the Alliance. We firmly believe that the best defense for political prisoners is to rely on the strength of the people of this country and to consistently expose and actively organize to fight the imperialist system which is the cause of political repression. Nowhere in Alliance literature we have seen is this system identified. We have received every issue of THE ORGANIZER, the newsletter of the Alliance. While the newsletter gives a wide variety of articles on various political prisoners it also never points out that imperialism must be done away with in order to free political prisoners. We have searched in vain and could not find anything resembling this. Will ignoring the causes of political repression help to free political prisoners? No!

We read with interest the speech of Angela Davis at the Second Annual Conference. As a co-chairperson of the Alliance, and as a leading member of the CPUSA, we believe that she should have attacked the system, pointing out that imperialism is the reason for political repression. Nowhere did she do this. In fact, her speech began by stating that Congressman John Conyers of Michigan was "truly representative of the people's needs and desires." She further stated that people in the US were coming to understand the "crimes of the thugs who run our country." She stated that they now believe that Richard Nixon is a liar! What a perfect opportunity to attack the system, and yet she chose instead to congratulate a Congressman and accuse one man of being a liar! Because Conyers voted to hold Nixon in contempt does not make him a "brother" as she stated. We might point out that George McGovern, while calling for the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam was also one of the major proponents of continuing to repress the American Indians at Wounded Knee. Does that make him a Brother? Was Richard Nixon, as despicable as he is, the sole culprit for the continued oppression of the people of the world? Of course not! Then why didn't Davis raise this point -- that the system is what oppresses all of us? And this was the keynote address of the Second Annual Conference of the Alliance!



July 4th demonstration that was held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Somewhere between 6 to 8,000 people attended the demonstration. In terms of it it could be summed up as a highly successful mobilization in the struggle to free political prisoners. We feel, however, that in spite of the work that went into its organizing, the Alliance again failed to identify the imperialist system as the cause for racist and political repression. Flowing from that, it failed to show the thousands of people there that it is necessary to fight imperialism in order to finally free all political prisoners. An example of how this worked out in practice at the Raleigh demonstration can be cited by the reports that were in REVOLUTION and THE GUARDIAN. In both papers they reported that there was "tight discipline" between the police and the demonstration organizers. While the safety of the demonstrators is very important, it should be clear that the police, with whom the organizers were very cooperative, are the same people that carry out the repression of all people. From the reports we have received this was never even pointed out at the demonstration.

On July 4th, the same day as the Raleigh demonstration, VVAW/WSO held a rally of about 3,500 people in Washington DC. This rally in Washington followed three days of intense struggle and fighting spirit of several hundred people. The main characterization of our demonstration was that we went to DC with winnable demands also, and yet clearly identified the system of imperialism as our enemy. Rather than relying on bourgeois legalism, we carried out our demonstration in a revolutionary way. The demonstration was marked by battles with the police. While battles with police don't necessarily mean that a demonstration was revolutionary, it clearly showed those who participated and those who read about it that we were serious about raising our demands and we were serious in fighting the system that oppresses us all.

The Raleigh demonstration was called as part of the Alliance's campaign to pinpoint North Carolina as the country's number one disaster area in terms of political repression. We agree that North Carolina is marked by incredible racial and political repression. We think the Alliance has clearly listed the many offenses against Black and other people in that state. But we do not feel that North Carolina should be the focal point of a National Alliance's work. The uniting factor in the Alliance is to free all political prisoners and this cannot be done by isolating North Carolina from the rest of the country. While we can state that the Alliance also documents other cases of political repression, we see the thrust of your work directed at one section of the country. We believe that this is a very serious error. How does this relate to the real oppressive conditions that exist in other parts of the country? What about the repression in Detroit with the fascist SWAT teams; the recent Operation Zebra in San Francisco; the continuing repression of the American Indians in the North Central states; the repression in Atlanta, in Dallas, and in Riverside, California? The National Alliance should see the repression in all sections of the country as equal to that in North Carolina and should put this forward; not isolate the struggle in North Carolina from the rest of the country.

Before we begin to respond to some of the charges made in your letter concerning the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee, LBODC, and the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, RPPDC, there are several points in your letter that should be cleared up. The first deals with the point that VVAW/WSO is assuming the role of the government by making criticisms of the Alliance. We think this is pure crap. It is true that in our National Office Report we called the Alliance the

brainchild of the CPUSA, and it is that that we said there are honest elements in the Alliance. However, we certainly didn't make these statements with the same political perspective as that of the CPUSA and we feel it is opportunist of you to attempt to make this implication. We would like to briefly comment on the role of a communist party in mass organizations and not from the government's point of view.

We believe that it is the duty of a communist party to actively build and work in mass organizations. We believe that a 'brainchild' of a communist party is not a bad thing. In fact, we believe that a communist party should initiate mass organizations when necessary. That is one of the party's functions. We also believe that a communist party should actively put forward an independent line in that mass organization and actively participate in the leading of that organization. If, in fact, this is what the CPUSA is doing in the Alliance, then we think that the independent line of the CPUSA is either bankrupt or it is hiding under a cloak of opportunism. If the CPUSA was putting forward a Marxist-Leninist line then they would be calling for the overthrow of the system, not congratulating it at every turn, or failing to identify our enemy.

With regard to the charge claiming that we implied the groups in the Alliance were dominated by the CPUSA, we would like to say that nowhere did we ever say that the CPUSA dominates any of the independent organizations within the Alliance. We severely criticize you for implying this in your letter. We have worked with many of the organizations that comprise the Alliance and we will continue to do so. Our differences lie with the political direction of the Alliance's work, not with the independent organizations within it. The politics of the Alliance is what is at question here, and specifically the roles of Angela Davis and the CPUSA. Is the Alliance putting forward a political line that is in the best interests of political prisoners in the United States? Is the Alliance actively organizing people to fight the system of imperialism? Is the Alliance building the strength of the mass movement? We believe the answers to these questions are no!

There are two ideologies: bourgeois and proletarian. Proletarian ideology should be the guiding political line of the Alliance. In putting forward its political line does the Alliance attack the system or does it pay lip-service to the real struggles of the mass movement and in effect, turn that movement over to the liberal politicians and the would-be reformers? We believe that the Alliance is doing the latter by not pointing out who the real oppressors are. This is our summation of the Alliance's work during the past year and a half.

The second point in your letter that requires clarity is your comment, "If you have criticisms of the CPUSA, take these up with the CPUSA." Considering that Angela Davis is a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and also signed the Alliance letter, we believe that she knows better than to agree with this statement in such an off the cuff way. The fact is that we have, in the past, tried to raise specific criticisms with the CPUSA and we were given the most backhanded responses to the point of total unresponsiveness. Here we will try to recapitulate that experience.

In October of 1973 three members of VVAW/WSO attended the World Congress of Peace Forces meeting held in Moscow as part of the American delegation. At that conference, one member of the organization was raped. She was treated in the Soviet Union, as a rape victim is treated here in the United States. She was asked if she enjoyed it, and if she encouraged her attacker. As we stated in our letter to the CPUSA

On November 3, 1973, due to the extremely poor conditions of the meeting, applications it held for the Congress we did our best to assure that the incident was not publicly disclosed." Upon return to the United States we wrote letters to the CPUSA and the American Secretary to the World Peace Council explaining what had happened. We demanded an apology from the World Peace Council and that the incident be brought to the proper Soviet authorities. In addition we asked for a return of her travel expenses. The letters were very principled and straightforward.

We received a reply from the American Secretary of the World Peace Council who stated, "I am sure that anyone who was part of the planning and arrangements would regret, as I do, that such an incident could occur." There was no apology; there was no mention whatever of bringing the incident up to the authorities in Moscow, and there was no concession that any official responsibility was involved in the way the woman was treated by the Soviet police officials.

As far as the CPUSA was concerned, they did not even answer our November letter. In December of 1973, at our National Steering Committee Meeting, we voted to censure the CPUSA and to make public the facts around their lack of concern over the incident. A copy of this censure was sent to the CPUSA. Helen Winter, a leading member of the CPUSA responded on January 29, twenty days after the letter of censure was formally sent to the CPUSA. Her reply simply mentioned that the CPUSA was not a responsible organizing body of the congress in Moscow. She never brought up the censure resolution of the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee; only stating that she would bring up the "matter" with Gus Hall. We have never heard from the CPUSA again on this censure. A national organization sends a letter of censure to a national 'communist' organization and there is no response whatever! The CPUSA washed their hands of the entire incident. This is inexcusable. We do not believe that the statement in your letter, signed by Angela Davis, is valid considering the CPUSA's past practice around criticism.

We would like to briefly respond to the comments you make in your letter concerning the LBODC. In your letter you state that we 'attack' you because charges of racism were levelled at members of the LBODC. Members of the LBODC, (who are also members of VVAW/WSO), did report to us that charges of racism were made to them by people who they felt were extremely close to the CPUSA. Our members on the committee feel these charges are not justified. This charge set up a dynamic within the LBODC which resulted in dividing committee members from one another until the point was reached wherein personal threats on some of our members lives were made. We do not view a 'criticism' which results in threats as principled criticism. Nor do we view 'criticism' which effectively held back the work of the committee as constructive. If racism was apparent on the part of certain members of the LBODC, then that should have been struggled with and raised in a principled manner by the people who felt that racist ideas/actions were present in other committee members. Criticisms which become divisive can only hold back the struggle and divert the real purpose of the committee -- to free the Leavenworth Brothers.

Later in your letter, you say that this was seen by National Alliance officers who have worked with the LBODC, (Carl Braden and Lennox Hinds). The LBODC pointed out in a letter to you that if this racism was seen, officers of the Alliance did not bring it up with the committee members, (at least not with those members who were accused of being 'racist'). If the leadership of the Alliance did see racism at work within the LBODC, then we would expect this to be raised by them on the spot. It is the responsibility of leadership not to retreat from struggle, and to correct mistaken ideas when and

where they arise. This was never done. We feel that if the Alliance did have criticisms concerning racism within LBODC, it would have been far more productive and principled to raise these criticisms with members of the committee rather than to wait until you publish a letter making these charges. To recognize incorrect ideas or practice and not deal with them until many months later in a public letter is seen by us as being opportunist.

In another part of your letter you state, "We are dismayed that you would hamper this effort, (to build the Alliance) not only by discouraging a local group from affiliating with the Alliance (as you say you did with the Leavenworth committee) but also by issuing this statement." By this, we assume you are referring to our National Office Report where we report that VVAW/WSO members on the LBODC opposed the idea of affiliating with the Alliance. The members who did oppose this affiliation did so on the grounds that they had honest questions as to the nature of the Alliance, its relationship to the CPUSA, and the practice and politics of both organizations. We feel it is a good thing that questions such as this are raised within a committee such as the LBODC before a decision to affiliate is made. It just may be that everyone does not agree with the importance of building the Alliance, in its present form. VVAW/WSO does not see itself as having a responsibility to build the Alliance, and if our membership has questions about the nature of the Alliance, then we feel that is a good thing. As you well know, the LBODC did decide to affiliate with the Alliance. We also assume you are aware that this decision to affiliate was made at a time when two people who had strong doubts about the affiliation had to leave town. The LBODC members knew that these people had questions and criticisms, but with no warning, they decided to hold a vote on the affiliation without having first struggled out the pros and cons of such an affiliation. We see this very undemocratic process of affiliation as manipulative on the part of the committee members who felt very strongly that the committee should affiliate with the Alliance. Even if the people who opposed the affiliation had been outvoted and the affiliation made anyway, we strongly criticize those people in and around the LBODC who pushed for this vote at a time when other members were absent.

In your letter you almost ignored the major point of the current struggle and that is the letter written by Gary Lawton to Angela Davis. The major reason we decided to publish Lawton's letter in WINTER SOLDIER was because this letter raised major questions concerning the movement to free all political prisoners. Your brief response treated Cary's letter as if it were a footnote. You made three statements concerning the letter that were totally misleading and circumventing the issues raised in his letter. You stated in your letter, "Even the letter from Gary Lawton criticizing Angela was addressed (sic) to her as she spoke in Gary's defense..." The fact is that you mislead people by saying that she was speaking in Cary's defense, as if that were the reason for the public meeting called by the Southern California Alliance, where she spoke. That meeting was called to raise money to send people to the North Carolina demonstration.

You further state that "Carl Braden also spent several weeks in Riverside this past spring working on Cary's case, and is again in Riverside now as these words are being written." It was pointed out to us by the RPPDC that in fact Carl has never come to work for Lawton as a representative of the National Alliance, nor has any Alliance money been spent on sending Carl there. While Carl has been in Riverside and has helped on the case, it has not been done by the Alliance, but by Carl as a member of the Southern Institute for Propaganda and Organizing.

The third point you raised concerns Gary's questions about the support Davis has given to Ruchell Magee. Y quote from a letter written by Ruchell stating that Angela Davis has given him a lot of support. We will not go into the contents of that letter as we can produce letters written by Ruchell that give a different perspective. We will not use Ruchell here to make our points. It should be noted however, that Gary has been in contact with Ruchell and as a result has questions of Davis to which she has not responded.

The above points are all that are briefly discussed in your letter. Gary did not write his letter just to get his name in WINTER SOLDIER, and he did not write the letter to the four co-chairpersons of the Alliance; he wrote the letter to Angela Davis because he wanted her to answer his specific questions. He also wrote the letter to Davis to tell her in no uncertain terms what he thinks of her role in the struggle to free all political prisoners. As we have stated, Davis has refused to respond. Throughout the years of the Lawton case, Angela Davis, while pretending to help Gary, has never been in personal contact with him even though the history between the Southern California Alliance and the RPPDC has been marked by constant duplicity on the part of the SCAARPR. After Gary's letter was written, Davis found the time to meet with individual members of VVAW/WSO in southern California. If she could find the time to meet with them, then why couldn't she find the time to talk to Lawton? Riverside is but a telephone call away. She has never done this because she doesn't want to. She has used the Alliance to attempt to give a very incomplete response to Gary's letter under a safe cover as co-chairperson of the National Alliance.

Enclosed with this letter is a response to your attack on VVAW/WSO written by the RPPDC. We think that this response outlines the history of the relationship between the RPPDC and the Alliance, Angela and the CPUSA very well. We believe that it sums up the role played by these groups and this individual in attempting to undermine the efforts to free Lawton. Gary is a leading figure in the continuing struggle to free political prisoners. To answer his letter in the manner that was done by the leadership of the Alliance and the CPUSA is an attack on Gary. VVAW/WSO has continually supported Gary and the efforts to free him from the racist frame-up charges that stem from his work in organizing the minority community of Riverside against the oppression of the system. We will continue to support him until he is free. And this support for him will be there when he is attacked in unprincipled, opportunist methods as used in your letter.

You attacked VVAW/WSO in your letter for criticizing Angela Davis. You state that she "voices the aspirations of all Black people", and you unblushingly compare her to Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. You further state that VVAW/WSO attacks her just as the government does. Angela Davis and the struggle to free her was a struggle that won over millions of Third World and white people to her defense. Her trial and defense were worthy of mass support; support VVAW/WSO gave throughout the country. We believed that the struggle to free Angela Davis was a struggle of all progressive people in the United States. It is for this reason that we single her out. She is a major figure in the US and because of this, she is responsible to those millions of people who fought for her freedom.

The hopes and aspirations of all oppressed people are to cast off the burdens of imperialism. Chairman Mao Tsetung stated, "Countries want freedom, nations want independence, and people want revolution." We believe that these are the aspirations of all oppressed people. We do not believe that the Alliance in its present form is working


toward this goal. We believe that Davis, as a well-known figure in the United States, and as co-chairperson of the N. A. P. R. has a responsibility to voice these aspirations. We believe that she is not doing this.

Your letter implied that Davis has spent almost all of her time working and organizing on behalf of political prisoners. We do not believe that time factors are the gauge of one's political analysis. When she doesn't identify the imperialist system; when she doesn't actively organize people to fight the system, then she doesn't voice the aspirations of all Black people as you claim. Instead she voices the reformist line of the CPUSA. For only in overthrowing the system of imperialism will all Black and oppressed people be free. When criticism is directed at her it is opportunist to say that it is the work of the government. By stating that VVAW/WSO plays a role similar to that of the government you are saying that Davis is above criticism and, in fact, she is not. You are ignoring the criticisms being made, negating the very essence of criticism and holding yourselves above it. Your letter's implication that VVAW/WSO is an agency of the government is a slanderous attack. The four co-chairpersons of the Alliance are responding to Gary's letter in an outright opportunist fashion. You have taken our organization's documents, perverted them with lies and distortions and have published an attack in a devious and dishonest way.

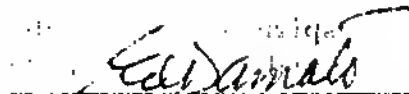
On many occasions we have heard Angela Davis and members of the Alliance call for unity. We agree with this, but we feel that unity must come from principled struggle around issues arising in the mass movement today. We do not believe that unity is achieved by glossing over differences. It is not in the interests of the mass movement to unite with opportunists, reformists and others that actually hold back the movement. If a reformist, opportunist line is put forward then that line must be struggled against in order to achieve principled unity. If that line is not beaten down then it must be exposed to the masses of people who will then decide which line is correct.

Once again we state that our differences with the Alliance are with its leadership, with its political outlook and with the CPUSA, a leading force in the Alliance. Our differences are not with the affiliate organizations and groups in the National Alliance. It is our hope that these organizations and defense committees comprising the Alliance will begin to re-evaluate the political direction of the Alliance in an effort to insure that its work serves the real interests of political prisoners throughout the country.

In the Struggle Against Imperialism,



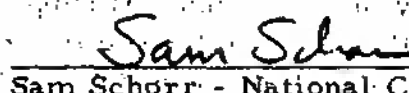
Brian Adams - National Coordinator



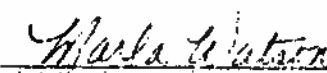
Ed Damato - National Coordinator




Bill Davis - National Coordinator



Sam Schorr - National Coordinator



Marla Watson - National Coordinator



Pete Zastrow - National Coordinator

"FREEDOM FOR ONE IS NOT ENOUGH, FREE US ALL, SAY ON!" - GARY LAWTON

CG 100-50772

F. Activity in Connection with National Council for  
Universal and Unconditional Amnesty

On July 28, 1975, [REDACTED] <sup>b2 b7D</sup> furnished the minutes of the 15th NSCM, which set forth the following information in regard to the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty:

PROPOSAL TO RESIGN FROM NCUUA:

VVAW/WSO has been a part of the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) for over two years. A member of the National Office is on the NCUUA steering committee, representing veterans with less-than-honorable discharges. NCUUA is a loose grouping of many different types of organizations, including church groups, peace groups, etc. NCUUA was conceived as a coalition that could provide unity and cohesiveness around the question of universal and unconditional amnesty, and the basis of unity of NCUUA has been in calling for UUA and an end to the war in Indochina.

VVAW/WSO has been involved in a great deal of struggle in NCUUA since we first joined. Most of the organizations in NCUUA put forward the line that "we have to forgive people who didn't fight in that terrible war in Indochina." VVAW/WSO and a few other groups in NCUUA have consistently fought for a more political perspective on the amnesty issue and have tried to bring out that resistance to wars of aggression is correct and in the interests of the masses of people. This has been a long, difficult struggle and VVAW/WSO played a very progressive role within NCUUA during the past couple of years.

However, it is now clear that NCUUA (especially its steering committee and National Office) is not longer important to the amnesty struggle. Though VVAW/WSO has fought to show the organizations in NCUUA that universal and unconditional amnesty can only be won through doing consistent mass work around the question and building a movement among the masses of people for UUA, NCUUA has not taken up this correct position. In fact, there are dishonest people in NCUUA's National Office who have tried to obstruct decisions made by the NCUUA steering



committee for getting out among the masses of people more consistently. Instead, the NCUUA NO and groups on the NCUUA steering committee have become totally reformist and have been putting out the line that we have to rely on Congress for UUA. Since it is becoming more and more clear that NCUUA is no longer playing a progressive role in the struggle for universal and unconditional amnesty, the following proposal was made by the National Office:

**PROPOSAL:** That VVAW/WSO resign from NCUUA and that the National Office send out a letter to the organizations in NCUUA explaining our reasons for this decision.

**VOTE:** This proposal received unanimous acceptance.

Though VVAW/WSO is no longer a part of NCUUA, this does not mean that the organization cannot and should not work around amnesty. We should still take up the struggle for universal and unconditional amnesty, but as a veterans organization, we should take this up in the context of building a fighting veterans movement. We still have very good relations with AMEX and other exile groups, and we will struggle to maintain those relations. However, NCUUA has been no help in our mass work, and we don't need NCUUA to continue doing work in our communities, and on the national level, for universal and unconditional amnesty.

G. Activity in Connection with Revolutionary Student  
Brigade

On January 18, 1975, WILLIAM DAVIS, PETER ZASTROW, SAMUEL SCHORR and EDWARD DAMATO, representing the VVAW/WSO National Office, attended a fund-raising affair sponsored by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB).

[REDACTED] 1/23/75)

b2  
b7D

The April 5, 1975 issue of the "Oklahoma Daily", University of Oklahoma student newspaper, Norman, Oklahoma, reflected that anti-imperialist activities would be sponsored there Monday through Saturday by the RSB and Iranian Students Association. It was further indicated that WILLIAM DAVIS, a representative of the VVAW/WSO, would speak on why the United States entered the war, the history of the war, and the possibility of the United States intervention into the war in the Middle East.

On April 7, 1975, WILLIAM DAVIS, representing the VVAW/WSO, spoke to a group of about 35 people during the anti-imperialist week sponsored by the University of Oklahoma RSB and Iranian Students Association, Norman, Oklahoma. He discussed the history of Vietnam and wars in Southeast Asia.

[REDACTED] 4/17/75)

b2  
b7D

On April 19, 1975, EDWARD DAMATO, SAMUEL SCHORR and MARLA WATSON, representing the VVAW/WSO, participated in an RSB sponsored mass demonstration in Chicago.

[REDACTED] 4/21/75)

b2  
b7D

H. Activity in Connection with Revolutionary Union

On May 3, 1975, SAMUEL SCHORR, PETER ZASTROW and MARLA WATSON participated in the annual Revolutionary Union (RU) sponsored May Day Rally, held on the south side of Chicago.

[REDACTED] 5/5/75)

b2  
b7D

VII. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The July, 1975 VVAW/WSO regional and chapter list, made available by [REDACTED] during July, 1975, reflected their international chapters as:

b2  
b7D

Hawaii

VVAW/WSO  
1990 Aamara Place  
Pearl City, Hawaii 96782  
(808) 456-3894

England

VVAW/WSO  
2 Turquand Street  
London SE 17  
England

Japan

VVAW/WSO - Omega Center  
PO Box 447  
Okinawa-shi  
Okinawa-Ken

CG 100-50772

VVAW/WSO  
PO Box 49  
Iwakuni-shi  
Yamaguchi-Ken  
Japan 740  
(0827) 22-0238

VVAW/WSO  
New People's Center  
PO Box 26  
Yokosuka-shi  
Japan  
(0468) 25-0157

1APPENDIXCOMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)

Title 50, U.S. Code, Section 781 (Internal Security Act of 1950) stated that, as a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, Congress found the existence of a world communist revolutionary movement, whose purpose is to establish a communist totalitarian dictatorship in the world's countries through the medium of a world-wide communist organization. Communist action organizations in various countries endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any means. The communist organization in the United States -- the CPUSA -- pursuing its stated objectives, presents "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States." The Subversive Activities Control Board, established by Section 791 of the above Act, found the CPUSA to be a communist action organization. This finding was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1961. The CPUSA has continued to be an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. The CPUSA, in its dependence on the Soviet Union, has never knowingly adopted a position contrary to Soviet policy. Its leaders frequently confer with Soviet leaders to receive guidance and direction on the policies the CPUSA is to follow. There has been no evidence that the primary aims of the CPUSA, as they conform to Soviet objectives, have changed over the years.

APPENDIX PAGE

Gary Lawton Defense Committee

The Gary Lawton Trial is a project of the California/Nevada Region VVAW/WSO of major proportion. The Los Angeles area VVAW/WSO acts as a coordinator of the National Organization Project in this regard. The published literature to the case of GARY LAWTON and ZUREBU GARDNER is handled by the Lawton, Gardner Offense-Defense Committee, Post Office Box 244, Riverside, California, which is in fact the Riverside Organizing Committee of the VVAW/WSO. The case relates to the murder of two Riverside, California, policemen for which GARDNER and LAWTON are charged. GARY LAWTON is a member of the VVAW/WSO and has traveled extensively throughout the United States in the last several months on speaking engagements in his defense while out on parole.

1

APPENDIX

IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (ISA)

ISA is a pro-Communist organization which supports the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and is believed to be sympathetic towards Arab extremist type groups. While the organization claims to be involved in acts of violence in countries outside the United States, the ISA within the United States has not been known to be involved in any acts of violence to date. The organization's propensity for violence or willingness to assist other Arab extremist groups in acts of violence has not been determined.

National Alliance Against Racist  
and Political Repression

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) is a front group of the Communist Party, USA, a subversive organization that serves as an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. A source advised that it was formed under communist initiative at a founding conference in Chicago, Illinois, in May, 1973. It is targeted against the American penal system and has among its objectives the freeing of all "political prisoners." The NAARPR is headquartered in New York, New York, and has branches throughout the United States.



CG 100-50772

National Council for Universal  
and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA)

The minutes of the Steering Committee, NCUUA, dated June 28, 1973, reflect the purpose of the NCUUA to be to mobilize the American people to work for a universal and unconditional amnesty and to educate them concerning the structures and institutions that created the war in Southeast Asia. The council is committed to working for universal and unconditional amnesty for all persons suffering disabilities because of opposition to United States involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, to the draft, and to the military. The council is demanding an immediate amnesty review for all military resisters including deserters and draft resisters whether in exile or underground in the United States, all persons who because of their opposition to the war and the military have been administratively punished, convicted by civil or military courts, or are subject to prosecution, and all veterans with less than honorable discharges.

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), formerly known as the Attica Brigade, is a student-based organization founded in New York City in the Fall of 1971. The RSB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views United States imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world and one of its stated objectives is to help build a revolutionary student movement and be a part of the overall revolutionary movement that will ultimately defeat U.S. imperialism. The RSB favors violent actions to further its cause and is moving closer in ideology to the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has significantly infiltrated the RSB and plays a major role in the RSB policies, decisions, and activities. As of September, 1974, the RSB is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. The RU is a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1APPENDIXREVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution," are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-53924) (P)

SUBJECT: CHICAGO CHAPTER  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST  
THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER  
ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS  
OO: CHICAGO

DATE: 10/31/75

ReCGrpt by S. [REDACTED] dated  
3/31/75 and CGlet to FBIHQ dated 6/26/75.

The following is a current analysis of the Chicago  
VVAW/WSO Chapter:

Relet set forth information the Chicago Chapter during May and June, 1975, maintained no Chicago headquarters and held its meetings on a bi-weekly basis at 2546 North Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. Current membership was estimated at approximately 16 individuals with approximately 8-14 persons normally in attendance at meetings. In addition, available information indicated the influence and dominance of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), formerly known as the Revolutionary Union, upon the Chicago Chapter, noting that two Chicago Chapter members were also members of the RCP Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee-Veterans (UWOC-V) Collective, one of the two being the leader of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

During July, 1975, it was ascertained that three additional Chicago Chapter members had also become members of the RCP UWOC-V collective.

Currently a total of five Chicago Chapter members have definitely been identified as also being members of the RCP UWOC-V. These individuals comprise the "hard-core" membership of the Chicago Chapter and direct its activity, thus indicating the RCP dominance of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

(2) - Bureau  
2 - Chicago (1-100-50772)  
SPW:meb  
(4)



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-53294

The Chicago Chapter membership currently numbers approximately 10 individuals as compared to 18 individuals during March, 1975. The Chapter maintains no headquarters and meets as a chapter on an infrequent basis. As set forth above five of the 10 chapter members have been identified as also being RCP members. The remaining five chapter members have not been to date identified as RCP members, however, they do participate in RCP activity, such as demonstrations and fund raising affairs.

From March, 1975, to the present the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter has participated in very minimal activity as compared to past months.

Recent RCP activity in the Chicago, Illinois, area indicates the RCP plans to continue to maintain the name VVAW/WSO as well as the programs of the VVAW/WSO under RCP direction and dominance.

Based upon the above, it appears at the present time the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter is in effect a front group for the RCP.

[REDACTED] is currently furnishing coverage of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter. [REDACTED] has been targeted toward the Chicago Chapter.

Chicago is submitting a current report regarding the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

100-448092-4359  
**CHANGED TO**  
100-484388-2

DEC 15 1975

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6/5/95 *SB 6/5/95*

100-448892-4360  
**CHANGED TO**  
100-484512-2

JAN 13 1976 196

*Diff / 196*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/29/75

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-54331) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7C  
SM-VVAW/WSO; OL  
OO: CHICAGO

Remylet to FBIHQ dated 4/9/75.

This communication is classified confidential to protect the identity of [REDACTED] b2 b7D

Relet placed captioned matter in a closed status; however, a 90 day tickler was set for the purpose of reopening this matter in an effort to evaluate subject's current activity with consideration to possible interview of subject.

A thorough review of this matter reflects no reported subversive activity on the part of subject since relet, nor is there any information to date to indicate subject to be in violation of the concerned Federal statutes.

Chicago is not contemplating interview of subject at this time since an attempt to interview [REDACTED] would jeopardize the security and identity of [REDACTED] who is a highly valuable source [REDACTED] who furnishes pertinent and timely information regarding [REDACTED] b2 b7D

Chicago is placing this matter in a closed status at this time; however, in the event information is received at a future date to indicate subject may possibly be in violation of the concerned Federal statutes, this matter will be reopened, preliminary inquiry conducted and FBIHQ appropriately advised.

- (2) - Bureau  
1 - Chicago  
SPW:meb  
(3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classified by 6607  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

23 OCT 31 1975

NOV 10 1975



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/30/75

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-69395) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7c  
SM - VVAW/WSO

OO: SF

Enclosed for FBIHQ are four copies of an Investigative Summary. Two copies of an FD 376 are attached.

One copy of the Investigative Summary is being disseminated to Secret Service, San Francisco.

Subject does not meet the ADEX criteria.

Interview of the Subject is not being recommended since all Santa Cruz chapter members of the VVAW who have been approached for interview have refused. VVAW/WSO policy is to refuse interview by the FBI.

EX-115

REC-2

100-448092-4362

23 NOV 3 1975

FIVE

2-Bureau (Enc. 4)  
1-San Francisco  
JRO:kah S-1  
(3)

ENCLOSURE  
(RM)



53 DEC 15 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 30, 1975

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

RE: [REDACTED]

57C

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☒ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

*Clarence M. Kelley*  
Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

415195  
SP6 [signature]

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) 2 (RM)  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

Enclosure(s) 2 (RM)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

October 30, 1975

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

[REDACTED] b7c  
SUBVERSIVE MATTER -  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST  
THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER  
ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO) (see appendix)

This investigation is based on information which indicates that [REDACTED] based on his membership in the VVAW/WSO, is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, U. S. Code 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), 2387 (Sedition), 793 (Espionage), 844 (Explosives and Incendiary Devices), 2155-56 (Sabotage) and 2101 (Antiriot Laws). b7c

[REDACTED] is a white male adult, born [REDACTED]. He is single and was last reported residing at [REDACTED] Street, Santa Cruz, California. [REDACTED] is employed in a [REDACTED] at Harvey West Park, Santa Cruz, California. b7c

[REDACTED] between March and August, 1975, attended seven meetings of the VVAW/WSO, Santa Cruz chapter. On May 11, 1975, [REDACTED] attended the Regional Conference of the VVAW/WSO held at San Jose, California.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-448092-4362  
ENCLOSURE

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U. S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the 12/74 NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the U. S.

APPENDIX

DIRECTOR, FBI

10/30/75

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-69895) (C)

[REDACTED] *57C*  
SM - VVAW/WSO

OO: SF

Enclosed for FBIHQ are four copies of an Investigative Summary. Two copies of an FD 376 are attached.

One copy of the Investigative Summary is being disseminated to Secret Service, San Francisco.

Subject does not meet the ADEX criteria.

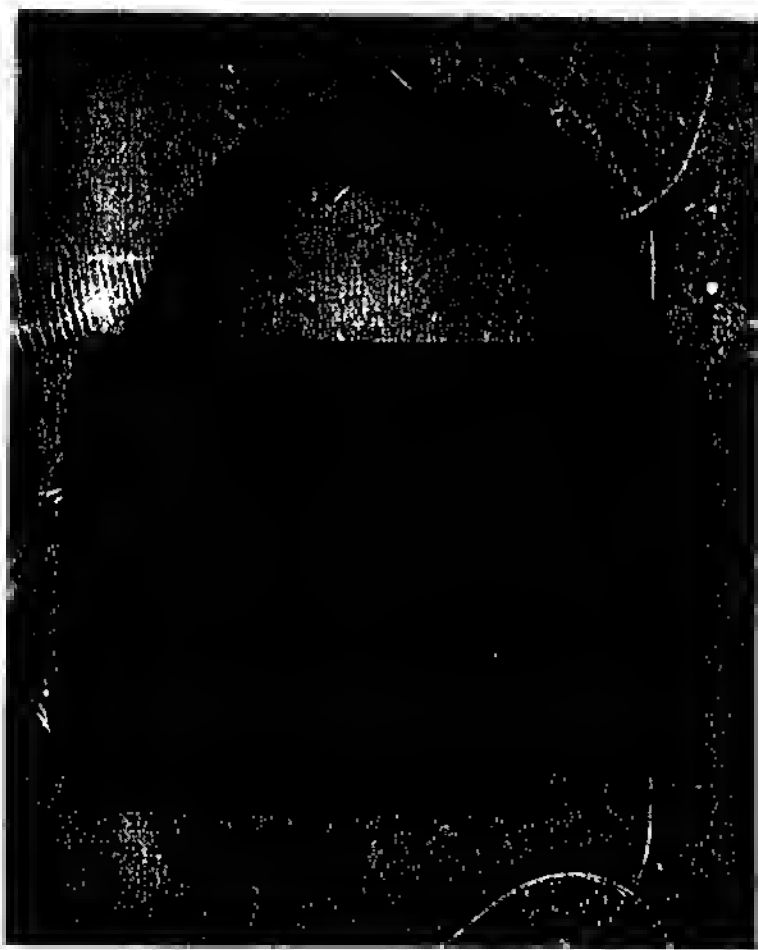
Interview of the Subject is not being recommended since all Santa Cruz chapter members of the VVAW who have been approached for interview have refused. VVAW/WSO policy is to refuse interview by the FBI.

*4/5/95* *SB 6/1/95 VA*

2-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-San Francisco  
JRO:kah S-1  
(3)

on the envelope  
INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/25/01 BY SP6/SJK/MLH

100-448092-43 62  
ENCLOSURE



|  
57C  
|

6/5/95

SP 6/5/95



Routing Slip  
0-7 (Rev. 12-17-73)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany  
☐ Albuquerque  
☐ Alexandria  
☐ Anchorage  
☐ Atlanta  
☐ Baltimore  
☐ Birmingham  
☐ Boston  
☐ Buffalo  
☐ Butte  
☐ Charlotte  
☐ Chicago  
☐ Cincinnati  
☐ Cleveland  
☐ Columbia  
☐ Dallas  
☐ Denver  
☐ Detroit  
☐ El Paso  
☐ Honolulu

☐ Houston  
☐ Indianapolis  
☐ Jackson  
☐ Jacksonville  
☐ Kansas City  
☐ Knoxville  
☐ Las Vegas  
☐ Little Rock  
☐ Los Angeles  
☐ Louisville  
☐ Memphis  
☐ Miami  
☐ Milwaukee  
☐ Minneapolis  
☐ Mobile  
☐ Newark  
☐ New Haven  
☐ New Orleans  
☐ New York City  
☐ Norfolk

☐ Oklahoma City  
☐ Omaha  
☐ Philadelphia  
☐ Phoenix  
☐ Pittsburgh  
☐ Portland  
☐ Richmond  
☐ Sacramento  
☐ St. Louis  
☐ Salt Lake City  
☐ San Antonio  
☐ San Diego  
☒ San Francisco  
☐ San Juan  
☐ Savannah  
☐ Seattle  
☐ Springfield  
☐ Tampa  
☐ Washington Field  
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Beirut  
☐ Bern  
☐ Bonn  
☐ Brasilia  
☐ Buenos Aires  
☐ Caracas  
☐ Hong Kong  
☐ London  
☐ Madrid  
☐ Manila  
☐ Mexico City  
☐ Ottawa  
☐ Paris  
☐ Rome  
☐ Singapore  
☐ Tel Aviv  
☐ Tokyo

RE:

Date 11/10/75

**VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)**

☒ For information ☐ Retention optional ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.  
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated 5TC

Remarks: Re: Rep SA [REDACTED] 9/17/75

**Closing report has been disseminated at  
FBIHQ. You are reminded that any successor  
organization to VVAW/WSO in your area might  
properly be the subject of an investigation  
according to the Manual of Instructions.  
Follow and advise of the name and purpose  
of any new organization.**

Enc.  
Bufile  
Urfile

100 - 448092 -

1 - Mr. Wainall  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
Airtel

1  
1

57C

To: SAC, Honolulu (100-6941)

11/18/75

From: Director, FBI (100-448092)

*4/5/98 SGT [REDACTED]*

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS-VVAW/WSO

ReBuairtel 11/11/75, captioned "Unsubs (2); Visitors  
To The Peoples Republic of China, IS-CH."

[REDACTED] b1  
(C)

[REDACTED] b1  
(C)

[REDACTED] b1

b7C  
NIS  
info  
MAILED 14  
NOV 18 1975  
FBI

1 - Chicago  
Enclosure

REC-50 100-448092-4363

- Assoc. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

HPB:bmf  
(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*RLS/CP*

66 DEC 18 1975 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to Honolulu  
RE: VVAW/WSO  
100-448092

By letter dated 11/16/73, Honolulu advised VVAW/WSO was considered a nonexistent organization in Honolulu. Honolulu was requested to conduct appropriate investigation to determine if VVAW/WSO is now functioning in Honolulu. Determine if the group is affiliated with the National Office (NO) of VVAW/WSO in Chicago, Illinois, or if it is an independent chapter. The NO is strongly influenced by the Revolutionary Union (RU). Certain VVAW/WSO chapters are not under the control of the NO, are not Marxist-Leninist in nature, and do not advocate violent revolutionary means. These latter chapters are not proper subjects for FBI investigations and the cases should be closed.

This matter is being coordinated for NIS in Honolulu by [REDACTED] Assistant Supervisor Agent for Internal Security. Promptly contact [REDACTED] and ascertain if he has any additional information which may be of assistance. Submit the results of your investigation in form suitable for dissemination within 45 days of the receipt of this communication. b7C

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C  
also  
NIS  
info

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE THREE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to Honolulu  
Re: VVAW/WSO  
100-448092

NOTE CONTINUED:



b7C  
also  
NIS  
info.

51

(C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☒ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): \_\_\_\_\_

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092-4363 ENCLOSURE

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

# MESSAGE RELAY

11/21/75

 Transmit in ☐ Plaintext  
☒ Code

Via Teletype the Attached

☐ Immediate  
☐ Urgent  
☒ Nitel

Message

Date

From: Director, FBI

To: SACs:

To: Legats:

To: RUEADWW/ ☐ The President☐ The Vice President☐ White House Situation Room☐ Attn:☐ Attn:RUEBWJA/ ☐ Attorney General☒ Deputy Attorney General☒ Attn: Analysis and Evaluation UnitRUEBWJA/ ☐ Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights DivisionRUEBWJA/ ☒ Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division☒ Attn: Internal Security Section☐ Attn: General Crimes SectionRUEABND/ ☐ Drug Enforcement AdministrationRUEANAT/ ☐ National Aeronautics & Space Adm.RUEBWJA/ ☐ Immigration and Naturalization ServiceRUEOIAA/ ☐ National Security Agency

(DIRNSA/NSOC (Attn: SOO))

RUEBWJA/ ☐ U. S. Marshal's ServiceRUEBDUA/ ☐ Department of the Air Force (AFOSI)RUEOLKN/ ☐ Naval Investigative ServiceRUEACSL/ ☐ Department of the ArmyRUEAUSA/ ☐ U. S. Postal Service (if Classified)  
(Use RUEVDFS if Unclassified)RUEAIA/ ☐ Director, CIARUEHSE/ ☒ U. S. Secret Service (PID)RUEBJGA/ ☐ Commandant, U. S. Coast GuardRUEHOC/ ☐ Secretary of StateRUEKJCS/ ☐ Director, Defense Intelligence AgencyRUEBJGA/ ☐ Department of TransportationRHEGGTN/ ☐ Energy Research and Development  
Administration

Attn: Director of Security

RUEOGBA/ ☐ Federal Aviation Administration

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_

Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_

Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_

Asst. Dir.:

Admin. \_\_\_\_\_

Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_

Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_

Files &amp; Com. \_\_\_\_\_

Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_

Ident. \_\_\_\_\_

Inspection \_\_\_\_\_

Intell. \_\_\_\_\_

Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_

Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_

Plan. &amp; Eval. \_\_\_\_\_

Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_

Training \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_

Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Top Secret☐ Secret☐ Confidential☒ Unclassified

Classification:

Subject (Text begins next page):

**VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
 (VVAW/WSO).**
MAIL ROOM ☐TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Foreign Liaison Unit

☐ Route through for review☐ Cleared telephonically

with \_\_\_\_\_

 NOV 26 1975  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 21 1975

658 PM

TELETYPE

RECEIVED

~~SECRETARY MI CODE~~

~~7:56PM NITEL NOVEMBER 21, 1975 DDS~~

~~TO: DIRECTOR (100-448892)~~

~~CHICAGO (100-50772)~~

~~FROM: MILWAUKEE (100-15674) (P)~~

~~VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION,~~

~~(VVAW/WSO), IC: VVAW/WSO, OO: CHICAGO.~~

THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 BY VIETNAM VETERANS. THE NAME OF THIS ORGANIZATION WAS CHANGED TO VVAW/WSO IN 1973, TO INCLUDE NON-VETERANS. IT HAS SPONSORED NUMEROUS ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS, SOME RESULTING IN VIOLENCE. RECENTLY, THIS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN CLOSELY AFFILIATED WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968, IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED TOWARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) AND THE TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG.

~~END PAGE ONE~~

*Handwritten:* X  
*Handwritten:* 57C

A SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, OBTAINED A LEAFLET ON NOVEMBER 20, 1975, WHICH REFLECTS THE VVAW WILL HOLD A PICKET TYPE DEMONSTRATION AT THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA) REGIONAL OFFICE, 342 NORTH WATER STREET, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AT 10:30 A.M. ON DECEMBER 1, 1975. IT IS EXPECTED THAT APPROXIMATELY 15-25 WILL BE PRESENT AT THIS DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF A VIETNAM VETERAN WHO IS HAVING HIS DISABILITY CUT BACK.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION DIRECTOR, GSA SECURITY, MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE:~~

62

67D

~~SOURCE IS [REDACTED] MILWAUKEE WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ONLY~~

~~IF DISTURBANCE OR ARRESTS OCCUR.~~

END



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
FBI

Date: 11/20/75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
(ATTN: INTD)

FROM: SAC, [REDACTED] (P) 52  
[REDACTED] (P) 52D

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] 52  
[REDACTED] 52D

Re: Trip made by captioned sources at request of  
Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), American Indian  
Movement (AIM), and Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter  
Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) to the East Coast,  
August 14, 1975, through September 21, 1975.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFIED BY 1900  
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION: INDEFINITE

2 - Bureau (RM) (All inserts) (Attachments #1-14)  
[Total enclosures - 40] 100-448092-

2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] insert) (Attachments #13 & 14)  
[Total enclosures - 6]

2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] insert) (Attachment 12)  
[Total enclosures - 4]

2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] insert) NOT RECORDED  
[Total enclosures - 2] 134 NOV 28 1975

2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] inserts)  
[Attachments #1-12] [Total enclosures - 2]

2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] insert) (Enc. 2)  
2 - [REDACTED] (RM) [REDACTED] insert) (Enc. 2)

(1) [REDACTED] 52  
(1) [REDACTED] 52D  
MWM:nb 100 main  
(14)

ENCLOSURE VVAW

66 DEC 11 1975

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b2  
b7D  
MWM:nb

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies each of narrative inserts summarizing sources' trip [REDACTED] b7D

Enclosed to other receiving offices are two (2) copies of those inserts pertaining to their Division. Dissemination initially and other appropriate action is being left to the discretion of each office, subject to the cautionary provisions noted below. Inserts sent to each office noted next to copy count.

It is noted that sources orally reported the information as developed in contacts with Agent personnel of those offices covering areas in which travel occurred.

IN VIEW OF THE SENSITIVE NATURE OF MUCH OF THIS INFORMATION, ENCLOSED INSERTS SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH EXTREME CARE AND SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES IN THIS FORMAT. IT IS ONLY FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES. ANY INFORMATION UTILIZED SHOULD BE SUITABLY PARAPHRASED TO INSURE PROTECTION OF SOURCES. THERE SHOULD BE NO DIRECT CHANNELIZATION OF INSERTS AS CONSTITUTED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

October 8, 1975

[REDACTED] Street, Apartment [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] telephone number [REDACTED] has been heavily  
involved with the Black Liberation Army (BLA) Grand Jury  
investigations and in the defense of PAT SWINTON.

b7C

b7D

Associates of [REDACTED] and who are members of National  
Anti-Imperialist Caucus (NAIC), formerly Vietnam Veterans Against  
the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) and who are  
presently involved with White Lightning group are:

Telephone: [REDACTED]

Telephone: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] white female of [REDACTED]  
approximately 5'6", 140 pounds [REDACTED] years  
old, dark hair)

[REDACTED] white male, [REDACTED] years old,  
6'1" - 6'2", 200 pounds, long black hair  
[REDACTED] wears earring in left ear)

[REDACTED] girlfriend, white female,  
5'5", dark hair, wears [REDACTED]  
glasses, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (white male, [REDACTED] years, 5'8",  
gray hair, glasses, [REDACTED])  
[REDACTED]

b7C

b7D

b2

b7D

b7C

ENCLOSURE

100 - 448092 -

57D

[REDACTED]

October 1, 1975

This group from White Lightning attended an invitation only reception for the Cambodian delegation to the United Nations on September 6, 1975. The reception was sponsored by groups such as VVAW, Revolutionary Union (RU), Indochina Peace Campaign, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) and approximately 15 other leftist organizations. The security at this function was supplied by the RU.

The invitation reads as follows for this reception (copy attached):

"The group of Khmer residents in America (G.K.RAM) formally request your presence to the reception at 4:00 p.m., Saturday, September 6th, at the Union Theological Seminary, 606 West 122nd Street, New York, New York. The delegation of Kampuchea (Cambodia) at the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly headed by Mr. IENG SARY, Vice Prime Minister, will be present at the reception.

"G. K. RAM  
P. O. Box 5857  
Grand Central Station  
New York, New York 10017  
Telephone Numbers: 297-6606  
and 677-2509"

As part of the delegation, SARY had with him two Generals in the Cambodian military, one of whom is responsible for the military strategy for the seizure of Phenom Phen. SARY was responsible for the strategy behind the "Mayaguez" incident.

The purpose of this reception was for the Cambodian delegation to thank the American Left groups which supported the Cambodian struggle against the U.S. imperialistic forces. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] stated that they plan to escort the Cambodian delegation to the ghetto and slum areas of New York City in order to show them (and then discuss) the obvious failings of the capitalistic system. This was

57C  
57D  
62  
b7D  
b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

October 8, 1975

done already by these persons with the North Vietnamese delegation when they visited with these movement people in New York.

The Cambodian delegation showed a film of their reconstruction of Cambodia since the takeover. It is the first time it has been shown in the United States and the only copy of this film is in the hands of this Cambodian delegation.

[REDACTED] described above as a member of White Lightning, resides in the Bronx and is presently engaged in the school busing issue in Bensonhurst, New York. She and several others have been going through the community trying to gain support for a counterdemonstration against the groups opposing busing.

[REDACTED] who works for White Lightning and also the Irish Republican Clubs, has just returned from San Francisco.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] within the next several months intend to embark on a cross-country trip visiting other left groups including WSO chapters putting forth a new line concerning narcotics and drugs within the left movement and within Third World communities. They hope to show a connection between drug trafficking in the ghetto area and U.S. imperialistic tactics.

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] is an old VVAW/WSO member and is also active and familiar with PFOC people in the New York area. He is definitely concerned with reestablishing the VVAW/WSO which is now called NAIC (National Anti-Imperialist Caucus) by the New York area people as a valuable nationwide organization. He attended the national conference in St. Louis of this newly formed organization. When I say newly formed organization I mean the organization which exists as a result of the split among the VVAW/WSO chapters. The organization over the past year or so has been infiltrated by the RU people, including the national headquarters in Chicago. The RU people have found that rather than beginning from scratch in the formation of

b2  
b7D  
b7C

b7D  
[REDACTED]  
October 8, 1975

an organization nationwide sympathetic to their line, it would be easier to establish themselves within an active organization, stack the membership with members sympathetic to their line, eventually get elected to directive positions and then reorganize that organization along their ideological lines. This has been done with great effect within the old VVAW/WSO organization. The RU people have not only infiltrated the hierarchy of the particular chapters around the country, but also have taken control of the national headquarters office of the VVAW/WSO in Chicago. Some chapters, however, have avoided allowing the RU to gain control in particular chapters, i.e. St. Louis, Buffalo, New York, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Salt Lake City, and most of the California chapters. These chapters have found it necessary to surrender the title VVAW/WSO to the RU people and consequently are attempting to find a new title for the organization overall. Local chapters are now operating under the title NAIC with the exception of the Bay Area chapters which are operating under the title of WSO only.

Again [REDACTED] is active with the NAIC chapter in the New York area. He attended the National Anti-Imperialist Caucus in St. Louis and here in conjunction with chapter members of those chapters that refuse to adhere to the RU line, planned general strategy regarding the reorganization of the old VVAW/WSO. [REDACTED] stated that certain observers from the PFOC were in attendance at the St. Louis conference and in an attempt to establish a new focus these people discussed many issues laid out in the Weatherman's political doctrine Prairie Fire. An indication of [REDACTED] interest in participating in the anti-imperialist efforts of the new organization is his willingness to travel to different parts of the country to meet with other chapter members. [REDACTED] most recent trips have included the visit to St. Louis for the National Anti-Imperialist Caucus and a visit to the Bay Area chapters in late Spring, 1975. At this time [REDACTED] stayed with members of the East Bay Chapter in the Fairview commune at 1811 Fairview in Berkeley. At this

b7C  
b7D

4 [REDACTED] b2 b7D b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]

October 8, 1975

East Bay members [REDACTED] (phonetic), and [REDACTED] were staying at this house. [REDACTED] also visited [REDACTED] members in Salt Lake City at the house of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] mentioned that there are seven or eight people in the New York area who are as concerned as he in reestablishing the effectiveness of the old VVAW/WSO chapter. Some of these members are [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who live together [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Street.

[REDACTED] was first contacted in person at the private reception held at the Union Theological Seminary, 606 West 122nd Street, New York. This reception was described in detail elsewhere in this report.

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Upon departure from the New York City area, [REDACTED] advised that his doors are always open to chapter members and would be definitely interested in seeing some of these members in the New York area for the 1976 convention which is to be held in New York during the summer of 1976. The impression given at this time was that movement people, political activists in the New York area are already planning some type of activity for the convention.

Several attempts were made to contact [REDACTED] Avenue, New York, telephone [REDACTED] with negative results. It has since been determined that [REDACTED] is in Cambridge, Massachusetts, working on a book re the Middle East.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2  
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b7C

b7D

[REDACTED]  
October 23, 1975

[REDACTED]

Sources made contact with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] former Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) associates. These names of possible contacts that area previously obtained through National Clearing House of WSO in the San Francisco Bay Area from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Sources learned that [REDACTED] involved in Food Cooperative Collective reportedly funded in some part Federally under Model Cities Program. Names of 43 Collective members obtained and furnished Salt Lake City office.

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b2

b7D

b7C



b7D

[REDACTED]

October 2, 1975

VVAW/WSO

The main political figures in this group are [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Street, telephone 225- [REDACTED] was born and raised in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] is from [REDACTED] California.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] formerly resided in a commune at [REDACTED] St. Paul, with 10 other people, but have since moved to [REDACTED] Street. A woman by the name of [REDACTED] at this commune, telephone 225- [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are the "heavies" in the VVAW/WSO in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area and thus they are the ones to be contacted re the organization's activities in this area.

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Within the last two or three weeks there has been a considerable split in the VVAW/WSO (NAIC) and presently it is a defunct organization. Many people have become discouraged because no consensus or definite political line was set forth. An example of this discouragement is the fact that [REDACTED] Avenue South, a Twin City political activist, has decided to work on his own rather than work with the NAIC people.

According to [REDACTED] it was decided to have a reorganization effort within the next several weeks. They are sure there will be an organization, but they are not sure what name they will fall under. [REDACTED] will be involved with this organization, but will be directing most of her energies to the AIM. [REDACTED] stated a "heavy" in the San Francisco area working on the Native American Solidarity Committee is [REDACTED] telephone 707-874 [REDACTED] San Francisco number 285 [REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] who attended the NAIC conference in St. Louis, stated that the new organization will try to organize around the political line espoused at the conference (i.e., an anti-imperialist platform based on "Prairie Fire" the political statement of the Weather Underground Organization (W.U.O.)).

b2  
b7D  
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Dep. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. *WRK/PAH* \_\_\_\_\_  
Lab. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director's Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

EZZNR005 MI CODE

7:55PM NITEL NOVEMBER 21, 1975 005 NOV 21 1975

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448092)  
CHICAGO (100-50772)

*PAW*  
TELETYPE

FROM: MILWAUKEE (100-15674) (P)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION,  
(VVAW/WSO), IS - VVAW/ WSO, OO: CHICAGO.

*np* THE VVAW WAS FORMED IN 1967 BY VIETNAM VETERANS.  
THE NAME OF THIS ORGANIZATION WAS CHANGED TO VVAW/WSO IN  
1973, TO INCLUDE NON-VETERANS, IT HAS SPONSORED NUMEROUS  
ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS, SOME RESULTING IN VIOLENCE.  
RECENTLY, THIS ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN CLOSELY AFFILIATED  
WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE  
REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

*b7c*

*TH*

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, FOUNDED IN EARLY 1968, IN  
THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, IS A MILITANT SEMI-COVERT MARXIST-  
LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED  
TOWARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) AND THE TEACHINGS OF  
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG.

END PAGE ONE

*6/5/95*  
*SP/6/28 WA*  
*b7c*

0-73 sent to USSS;  
DAG-AEU, AAG, CO-155  
11/21/75 FAY:ash

REC-5

100-448092-4365

20 DEC 1975

NOV 21 1975

PAGE TWO MI 100-15674

A SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, OBTAINED A LEAFLET ON NOVEMBER 20, 1975, WHICH REFLECTS THE VVAW WILL HOLD A PICKET TYPE DEMONSTRATION AT THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA) REGIONAL OFFICE, 342 NORTH WATER STREET, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AT 10:30 A.M. ON DECEMBER 1, 1975. IT IS EXPECTED THAT APPROXIMATELY 15-25 WILL BE PRESENT AT THIS DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF A VIETNAM VETERAN WHO IS HAVING HIS DISABILITY CUT BACK.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION DIRECTOR, GSA SECURITY, MILWAUKEE POLICE DEPARTMENT AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

62  
57D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] MILWAUKEE WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ONLY IF DISTURBANCE OR ARRESTS OCCUR.

ENO

FBI.

Date: 12/3/75

Exec. Dir.	
Dep. A.D. - Adm.	
Dep. A.D. - Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	
Comp. Syst.	
Ext. Affairs	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Inspection	
Intell.	
Laboratory	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Off. Coun.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM: SAC, HONOLULU (100-6941) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS - VVAW/WSO

Re Chicago report of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/29/75 and Bureau airtel to Honolulu dated 11/18/75.

Referenced Chicago report dated 10/29/75 contains information on Page 14 that a chapter of VVAW was operating in Hawaii and was located at [REDACTED] Pearl City, Hawaii, 96782 with telephone number (808) 456-[REDACTED]

A review of the 1975 Cross Reference Directory for Honolulu failed to reveal any street identical to [REDACTED]. This same cross reference indicated telephone number 456-[REDACTED] was listed to a [REDACTED]. The 1975 Honolulu Telephone Directory listed [REDACTED] residing at [REDACTED] Ford Island, Honolulu with telephone number 456-[REDACTED]

It is noted that investigation in Honolulu file 100-7329 entitled, [REDACTED] aka; SM; 00: HN" developed information that the Liberated Barracks located in Kailua, Hawaii had moved recently and changed its telephone number to 456-[REDACTED]

On 11/24/75, SA [REDACTED] using pretext of asking for information on meeting times for Liberated Barracks determined from female who answered telephone number 456-[REDACTED] that [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (100-448092) (VVAW)  
(1 - 100-184369) (RU)
- 1 - Tampa (100-3434) (Info)
- 2 - Honolulu (1 - 100-6941) (VVAW)  
(1 - 100-7095) (RU)

JWP/ctm  
(5)

5 DEC 10 1975

70 DEC 16 1975

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

HN 100-6941

her name was [REDACTED] and that the Liberated Barracks was no longer active and their work was now being done by a few individuals associated with VVAW. [REDACTED] stated present emphasis was on informing military personnel on legal steps to take in gaining benefit under the Variable Enlistment Bonus (VRB) Program. b7c

On 11/24/75, SA [REDACTED] Security, Hawaiian Telephone Company, advised telephone number 456-[REDACTED] was listed to a [REDACTED] Pearl City, Hawaii since 6/2/75. b7c

On 11/28/75, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] was associated with the group who [REDACTED] with military personnel in Honolulu and holds meetings every Tuesday night at 7:30 p.m. to talk over various matters such as VRB. He stated [REDACTED] has been active in anti-war groups in the past and believed that different individuals were responsible for running the meetings at her house and some of these individuals refer to themselves as members of the VVAW. b2 b7D b7c

It is noted in Honolulu file 100-7095 entitled, "Revolutionary Union: IS" Tampa advised the Bureau by letter dated 7/1/75 that [REDACTED] indicated Liberated Barracks in Hawaii was actually a front group for the RU but further contacts with source failed to develop more information on this allegation. However, as noted above, investigation in Honolulu determined Liberated Barracks is no longer active and work is now being carried on by individuals, some of whom may be now associated with a VVAW chapter in Hawaii. b2 b7D

LEAD

HONOLULU

AT HONOLULU, HAWAII

Will conduct appropriate investigation to obtain identities of individuals who run Tuesday night meetings in Pearl City at home of [REDACTED] and determine if possible VVAW chapter or members exist in Hawaii. b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/25/75

FROM : LEGAT, TOKYO

SUBJECT: PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE (PCS)  
IS - RA  
(Bufile: 14-3079)  
(TOKfile: 100-731) (P)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG)  
IS - C  
(Bufile: 100-7321)  
(TOKfile: 105-5874) (P)  
(OO: NEW YORK)

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS - RA  
(Bufile: 100-448092)  
(TOKfile: 100-1005) (P)  
(OO: CHICAGO)

[REDACTED]  
SM - [REDACTED]  
(Bufile: 100-468194)  
(TOKfile: 100-813) (P)  
(OO: CHARLOTTE)

[REDACTED]  
SM - [REDACTED]  
(Bufile: 100-481503)  
(TOKfile: 100-1151) (P)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

(Subjects continued on page 2)

- 17 - Bureau (Encs. 23)  
1 - (Foreign Liaison Unit)  
2 - (Charlotte)  
2 - (Chicago)  
2 - (Indianapolis)  
2 - (Milwaukee)  
2 - (New York)  
2 - (Phoenix)  
2 - (San Francisco)  
Tokyo

RNR:rab  
(26)

Subjects continued:

[REDACTED] aka

✓ SM

(Bufile: 100-482034)

(TOKfile: 100-1387)

(RUC)

(OO: PHOENIX)

[REDACTED] aka

✓ SM

(Bufile: 100-482627)

(TOKfile: 100-1390)

(P)

(OO: MILWAUKEE)

[REDACTED]

SM

(Bufile: 14-3079-258)

(TOKfile: 100-1394)

(P)

(OO: INDIANAPOLIS)

[REDACTED]

SM

(TOKfile: 100-1397)

(RUC)

(OO: PHOENIX)

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Enclosed for the Bureau and receiving offices  
are 23 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), pertaining  
to captioned matters.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

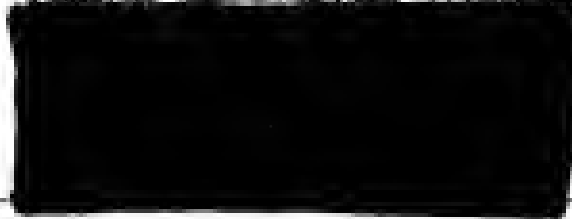
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Tokyo, Japan

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 25, 1975

PACIFIC COUNSELING SERVICE (PCS);  
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG);  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO);



b7C

6/5/75  
J. Edgar Hoover

On November 24, 1975, [redacted] U. S. Naval Investigative Service Office (NISO), Yokosuka, Japan, furnished the following information concerning the current location of activists representing PCS, NLG, and VVAW/WSO in Japan:

b7C

At the present time, PCS, NLG, and VVAW/WSO rate the following locations in importance as pertains to their anti-U. S. military activity: Okinawa, #1; Iwakuni, #2; and Yokosuka, #3.

6/5/75

As of November 24, 1975, [redacted] is the only activist on Okinawa.

|

At Iwakuni, there are three activists-- [redacted] and [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] and [redacted] have returned permanently to the United States from Okinawa.

|

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-448092-

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE





XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

1 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): (NAC) 77 Civ. 999 (U.S.D.C. S.D.N.Y.)

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-448092 Not Recorded Dated 11/25/75 Enclosure

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

The PCS, formerly known as the West Coast Counseling Service, was originally manned by anti-war, anti-military clergymen and their followers with the intent "to inform GI's of their rights within the military regulations and assist them in obtaining these rights whenever possible." Since its inception at Monterey, California, in 1969, the PCS has operated at various times in the States of Washington and California, with overseas offices in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines and Hong Kong. Currently headquartered in San Francisco, with offices near many American military installations, it has directed its activities to counseling and aiding anti-war and dissident servicemen. The PCS is now staffed by men and women, including anti-war activists, ex-GI's, draft resisters, and clergy.

The VVAW was formed in 1967 as an organization of Vietnam veterans to protest American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. Since that time VVAW leaders have told members the VVAW is a revolutionary group, not "just another group of war veterans." Also, the membership has been told the VVAW has been asked to cooperate on an international level with many organizations, including communist and Maoist groups. Additionally, it was indicated that "anti-imperialist groups" consider the VVAW a potent organization of similar stature in the U.S. In April, 1973, the group changed their name to VVAW/WSO so that non-veterans could become members. Current VVAW/WSO national officers are Marxist-Leninist oriented and strive to educate their membership in Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-18902) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST  
THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)  
IS  
(00:CG)

*4/5/94*  
*SP. [Signature]*

Re CI airtels dated 5/29/75 and 6/5/75.

The attention of the Bureau is directed to the fact that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) in Columbus, Ohio has ceased to exist.

Referenced communication dated May 29, 1975, reported the Columbus, Ohio Chapter, VVAW/WSO, voted unanimously to withdraw from the VVAW/WSO.

Investigation at Columbus, Ohio subsequent to May, 1975, determined the group vacated its office space and telephone service was discontinued prior to August 1, 1975. No activity on the part of captioned group has come to the attention of the Cincinnati Office since that date.

On November 24, 1975, [REDACTED] Secretary, Office of Student Programs and Development, Ohio State University (OSU), Columbus, Ohio, advised the VVAW/WSO has not filed as a student organization at OSU for the school year, 1975-1976. [REDACTED] stated she has received information that the VVAW/WSO, Columbus, Ohio, had disbanded in the spring, 1975, and did not reorganize in the fall, 1975.

*57C*

REC-69 100-448092-4367

Accordingly, the case is being placed in an RUC status in the Cincinnati Office as it relates to the Columbus.

- 2-Bureau
- 2-Chicago (100-50772)
- 2-Cincinnati
  - (1 - 100-18902)
  - (1 - 100-19743)

DEC 15 1975

EMN:pl  
(6)

**FIVE**

5 5 JAN 15 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CI 100-18902

Ohio area. Activities of the captioned group in the Cincinnati Division will continue to be reported in Cincinnati file 100-19743, covering the Cincinnati, Ohio area.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) DATE: 12/11/75

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-53565) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIET NAM VETERANS AGAINST  
THE WAR-WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)  
IS

Re: Newark letter and LHM dated 6/17/75. 57C  
New York report of SA [REDACTED] 9/9/75.

A canvass of Newark sources familiar with extremist activities in the State of New Jersey, during the months of November and December, 1975, reflected no activity regarding captioned organization.

Contact with local police departments since June, 1975, failed to reveal any activity regarding the VVAW/WSO.

In view of the above and the fact that all VVAW/WSO meetings are held in New York City, Newark is placing captioned matter in an RUC status. Newark will reopen investigation should conditions warrant.

2-Bureau  
2-Chicago (100-50772)  
2-New York (100-160644)  
1-Newark  
JET/cap  
(7)

REC 1 100-448092-4368

DEC 15 1975



5010-110

190  
1-4446  
11/17/76  
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>Chicago</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>Chicago</b>	DATE <b>DEC 15 1975</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>3/31/75 - 12/9/75</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>CHICAGO CHAPTER, VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)</b>		REPORT MADE BY SA <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPE OF BY <b>dlb</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS</b>	<b>57C</b>

REFERENCES: Chicago report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 3/31/75.  
Chicago letter to FBIHQ dated 10/31/75.

- P -

LEADSCHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will continue to follow and report the activities of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:  PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
APPROVED <b>[Signature]</b> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: ⑤ - Bureau (100-448092) (RM) 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (via courier) 2 - Chicago (100-53924) 1 - 100-50772 (VVAW/WSO)						100-448092-436 REC-78	
						DEC 18 1975	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations	
Agency						<b>[Signature]</b> <b>[Signature]</b> <b>[Signature]</b>	
Request Recd.							
Date Fwd.							
How Fwd.							
By							

ADMINISTRATIVE

By use of FD-376, one copy of this report is being furnished to the United States Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois, based upon the agreement of the FBI with that agency regarding the protection of the President of the United States.

Attached hereto for FBIHQ are two copies of an FD-376.

On April 19, 1975, SA's [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Chicago Office, observed a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB).

On April 25, 1975, SA's [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] observed a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the Revolutionary Union (RU) front group Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee. b7C


On May 28, 1975, SA's [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] observed a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the RU.

On September 22, 1975, SA [REDACTED] observed a demonstration at the Veterans Administration Facility, Damen and Taylor Streets, Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

On September 23, 1975, SA [REDACTED] observed individuals leafletting at the Chicago Civic Center sponsored by the RU.

The following individuals, through their activities, have been identified as affiliates of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter as well as the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP-USA), formerly known as RU. These individuals are identified in this report.

57C

<u>Name</u>	<u>Chicago File</u>	<u>Bureau File</u>	<u>Status</u>
	100-53526	100-475818	Open
	100-53545	100-477098	Open
	100-55591	100-482131	Open
	100-54198	100-481325	Open
	100-55593	None	Open
		assigned	
	100-55276	100-482073	Open
	100-54479	100-482099	Open
	100-54401	100-480149	Closed
	100-51935	100-473817	Open
	100-54654	100-481314	Closed

The following is a current analysis of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter:

A total of five VVAW/WSO Chapter affiliates were identified during July, 1975, as also being members of the former RU Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee--Veterans Collective, thus indicating the RCP-USA influence and dominance upon the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter. The Chicago Chapter membership affiliation currently numbers approximately ten individuals. This Chapter currently maintains no permanent headquarters and apparently holds meetings on an infrequent basis. The activities sponsored by this Chapter have been minimal in recent months; however, it is to be noted this Chapter does participate in RCP-USA and RSB activities (set forth in details of this report). Recent RCP-USA activity in Chicago, Illinois, tends to indicate the programs of VVAW/WSO may continue to exist under the direction and dominance of RCP-USA.

Based on the above, it appears the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter in effect is functioning as an RCP-USA front group.



INFORMANTS

Source

Location

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-53924-261

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-53924-276, 289, 317

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

62  
57D

62  
57D

This report is classified confidential to protect the identity of [REDACTED] the unauthorized disclosure of which could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S. and jeopardize the identity of this source.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

DEC 1 1960

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-53924

RE: CHICAGO CHAPTER, VIETNAM  
VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available.

Very truly yours,

*Clarence M. Kelley*  
Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

6/5/95 862000

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois

Report of:

SA [REDACTED] b7c

Office:

Chicago

Date:

DEC 15 1975

Field Office File #: 100-53924

Bureau File #: 100-448092

Title:

CHICAGO CHAPTER,  
VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY

Synopsis:

Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter presently maintains no permanent headquarters. Chapter association and affiliation with Revolutionary Communist Party-USA, formerly known as the Revolutionary Union; and Revolutionary Student Brigade set forth.

- P -

6/5/95 506 kg 10/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6607

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Sources whose identifies are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past, except where otherwise noted.

DETAILS:

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) in 1973 in include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-Government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee meetings, in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the December, 1974, National Steering Committee meeting to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the United States.

Characterizations of organizations mentioned in this report are set forth in the Appendix Section.

Those items in this report followed by the letter "C" are classified "confidential." The remainder of this report is not classified.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location

The Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter maintains no headquarters, and Chapter records and materials are currently being kept at the residence of the Chapter leader, [REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois. b7C b7D

[REDACTED] 4/1/75) b2 b7D

The Chicago Chapter presently maintains no permanent headquarters and conducts its meetings every other week at 2546 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. Records continue to be maintained at [REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois. b7D

[REDACTED] 6/5/75) b2 b7D

The Chicago Chapter no longer conducts meetings at 2546 North Halsted, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED] 8/19/75)

On September 7, 1975, the Chicago Chapter was scheduled to hold a meeting at the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP-USA) Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee Office, 9206 South Commercial, Chicago, Illinois. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] 9/8/75)

The RCP-USA evolved during early October, 1975, from the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has been dissolved.

[REDACTED] 10/75)

## II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

The aims and purposes of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter are identical to those expressed by the VVAW/WSO National Office, Chicago, Illinois, in its official publication, the "Veteran," formerly known as the "Winter Soldier," dated June-July, 1975:

### WHAT IS VVAW/WSO?

" Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) is an international organization working to build a fighting movement of veterans and GIs to struggle against the exploitation and oppression of U.S. imperialism, both at home and abroad. We are made up of vets and non-vets, GIs and civilians, men and women.

" Veterans and GIs have absolutely no interest in maintaining the system of imperialism, and have nothing in common with the handful of rich who own and run it. The only law this system knows is the law of profit, and the ruling class will do anything to insure and increase their take. VVAW/WSO knows this only too well from the struggle to put an end to the war in Indochina, a war that was not fought for the Indochinese or American people. Millions of poor and working people were forced or conned into the military to fight for the profits and domination of the imperialists over the resources and wealth of Southeast Asia.

" GIs rose up and rebelled against being used this way, and rebelled against the unbearable conditions (harassment, oppression of national minorities, oppression of women) that exist in the military. As ex-GIs, veterans have found joblessness, meatmarket VA hospitals, a miniscule GI Bill; and veterans are pissed about it. Everyday, vets and GIs are standing up to the Brass and VA bureaucrats, standing up to the courts and the cops; and fighting for a better life.

" VVAW/WSO has declared "War on the VA" and is fighting hard to see that veterans get jobs, health care and education. We have also taken on the military, organizing ourselves and other GIs to fight back. But we are clear on one thing: that as long as the system of imperialism still exists, the VA can never serve the needs of vets; and as long as the military is the bludgeon of the ruling class, GIs will never be fighting in their own interests or in the interests of the American people.

" VVAW/WSO is a weapon in the hands of veterans and GIs, a weapon to join with workers, students, women and oppressed people to defeat the system that lets a band of thieves steal the wealth of the world. We stand ready to fight VA cutbacks, fight for GI rights, to fight this system tooth and nail until it is ground into dust for all time. We have a common enemy: the ruling class and its system--imperialism; and the people are getting stronger every day while this rotten system grows weaker. THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!! JOIN US!! For more information contact the local VVAW/WSO chapter in your area, regional office of the National Office at 827 West Newport Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60657, telephone (312) 935-2129."

### III. OFFICERS

[REDACTED] continues as the apparent leader of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter. b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] 6/75) b2  
b7D

### IV. AFFILIATES OF THE CHICAGO VVAW/WSO CHAPTER

At various times during the period April, 1975, through September, 1975, the following individuals have exhibited an association with the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter through their activities:



b7c

b7D



4/14/75) b2  
11/17/75) b7D

V. ASSOCIATION WITH THE FORMER RU  
UNEMPLOYED WORKERS ORGANIZING  
COMMITTEE-VETERANS (UWOC-V)  
COLLECTIVE

The RU UWOC-V Collective existed until September, 1975, when the RU changed its name to the RCP-USA.

On March 23, 1975, [redacted] and [redacted] were identified as also being members of the RU UWOC-V Collective, Chicago, Illinois. (X)

b7c

b7D

[redacted] 3/24/75)

The Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter is apparently becoming more and more influenced by the RU.

b2

[redacted] 5/16/75)

b7D

The majority of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter affiliates have apparently aligned themselves with the policies of RU.

[redacted] 5/27/75)



On July 14, 1975, at a meeting of the RU UWOC-V Collective, the following individuals were introduced as also being members of the UWOC-V Collective:

[REDACTED] (X)

57C  
57D

[REDACTED] 7/14/75) |

It appears the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter is currently being controlled by the RU.

52  
57D

[REDACTED] 8/8/75) |

#### VI. ACTIVITIES

On March 31, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter sponsored a demonstration in conjunction with the RU and Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) at the Veterans Administration (VA) Facility, Damen and Taylor Streets, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 30 individuals attended this demonstration. During the course of this demonstration, eight individuals attempted to enter the VA building, at which time they were maced by VA security guards. No injury resulted to the demonstrators, VA security guards, or officers of the Chicago Police Department who were on the scene during the course of the demonstration.

[REDACTED] 3/31/75) |

On April 1, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter held a meeting with approximately 16 individuals in attendance. The majority of the discussion at this meeting dealt with the forthcoming VVAW/WSO National Interim Steering Committee meeting.

52  
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[REDACTED] 4/3/75) |

On April 10, 1975, the RSB sponsored a protest against the Naval Reserved Officers Training Corps (ROTC) at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. During the course of this protest 15 individuals were arrested, including [REDACTED] previously identified as an affiliate of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter. b7C b7D

[REDACTED] 4/10/75) b2 b7D

On April 12, 1975, the RSB held a fund-raising party at Chicago, Illinois. During the course of this affair, 11 affiliates of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter were observed in attendance. The total attendance at this affair was estimated to be approximately 40 individuals.

[REDACTED] 4/14/75)

On April 15, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, with 14 individuals in attendance.

[REDACTED] 4/16/75) b2 b7D

On April 19, 1975, the RU front group known as the "May Day Committee" held a fund-raising party at Chicago, Illinois, with 71 persons in attendance. Of the total attendance, seven affiliates of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter were observed in attendance.

[REDACTED] 4/21/75)

On April 19, 1975, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Chicago, Illinois, observed a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the RSB. Also participating in this demonstration were affiliates of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter and the RU. No incidents or arrests resulted during this demonstration.

On April 22, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, with 11 individuals in

attendance.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] 4/25/75)

On April 25, 1975, Special Agents of the FBI, Chicago, Illinois, observed a demonstration at the Illinois Department of Labor, 540 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois, sponsored by the RU front group "Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee." A total of 21 persons were in attendance, including [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. No disturbances or arrests resulted during this demonstration.

b7C

On April 27, 1975, the RU "May Day Committee" held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois. Present at this meeting were 26 individuals of which three were noted as being affiliates of the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

b2

[REDACTED] 4/28/75) b7D

On April 30, 1975, the RU held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, to discuss parade marshals for the forthcoming "May Day" demonstration. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were identified as being among 22 individuals present at this meeting.

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[REDACTED] 5/1/75) b2

b7D

On April 29, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, with 14 individuals in attendance.

[REDACTED] 5/2/75) b2

b7D

On May 3, 1975, the RU held its annual "May Day" rally at Chicago, Illinois, with approximately 125 individuals in attendance. The following VVAW/WSO affiliates were observed in attendance:

[REDACTED]  
b7C  
b7D



b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] 5/1/75)

b2  
b7D

On May 12, 1975, the RU and the RSB held a fund-raising dance at Chicago, Illinois, with the theme "End Police Repression," with approximately 56 individuals in attendance. Of the 56 individuals in attendance, eight individuals were identified as being affiliated with the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter.

[REDACTED] 5/13/75)

b2  
b7D

On May 28, 1975, Special Agents of the FBI, Chicago, Illinois, observed a demonstration sponsored by the RU at the Illinois Department of Labor, Chicago, Illinois, with approximately 17 individuals in attendance. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were observed in attendance.

b7C

On June 3, 1975, the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, with ten individuals in attendance. Discussion at this meeting concerned the "fight against the VA" and "end police repression."

[REDACTED] 6/4/75)

On June 28, 1975, the VVAW/WSO held a fund-raising party at 937 West Sunnyside, Chicago, Illinois, with approximately 80 persons in attendance.

b2

b7D

[REDACTED] 7/2/75)

On July 11, 1975, the RU UWOC-V Collective held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, with ten individuals in attendance. Of the ten individuals in attendance,

the following Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter affiliates were in attendance:



b7C  
b7D

The topic of discussion of this meeting mainly concerned the formation of the RCP-USA. (S)

[REDACTED] 7/14/75) b2 b7D

On July 18, 1975, RU UWOC-V Collective held a meeting at Chicago, Illinois, during which [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were observed in attendance. [REDACTED] individuals attended this meeting, and discussion centered in part on veterans' matters. (S)

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] 7/21/75) b2 b7D

During the period August 12-14, 1975, individuals associated with the RU leafletted at the U.S. Post Office, Canal and Harrison Streets, Chicago, Illinois. [REDACTED] was one of four individuals participating in this function.

b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] 8/25/75)

b2  
b7D

Current discussions indicate that RU has members in various organizations to furnish political guidance and direction. The VVAW/WSO was one of the organizations mentioned as also having RU members.

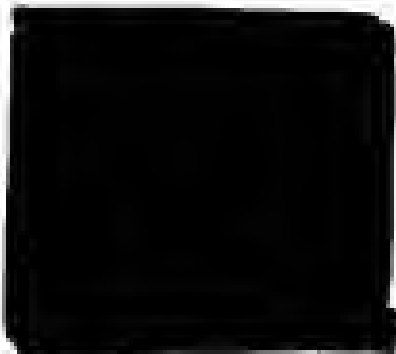
[REDACTED] 9/2/75)

On September 22, 1975, a Special Agent of the FBI, Chicago, Illinois, observed a demonstration sponsored

by the Chicago VVAW/WSO Chapter at the VA Facility, Damen and Taylor Streets, Chicago, Illinois. Ten individuals were observed participating in this demonstration, which resulted in no incidents or arrests.

On September 23, 1975, a Special Agent of the FBI, Chicago, Illinois, observed 39 individuals participating in RU leafletting at the Chicago Civic Center. Seven VVAW/WSO affiliates were observed in attendance.

On October 16, 1975, the RCP held a program and dinner at 8521 South Commercial, Chicago, Illinois, celebrating the formation of the RCP. The following individuals were identified as part of the 125 persons in attendance:



/

b7C

b7D

/

[redacted] 10/17/75)

b2  
b7D

On November 16, 1975, the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association held a U.S.-China Friendship Day program at Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] and [redacted] were observed in attendance at this affair.

b7C  
b7D

[redacted] 11/17/75)

b2  
b7D

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), formerly known as the Attica Brigade, is a student-based organization founded in New York City in the Fall of 1971. The RSB considers itself to be an anti-imperialist organization which views United States imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world and one of its stated objectives is to help build a revolutionary student movement and be a part of the overall revolutionary movement that will ultimately defeat U.S. imperialism. The RSB favors violent actions to further its cause and is moving closer in ideology to the Revolutionary Union (RU), which has significantly infiltrated the RSB and plays a major role in the RSB policies, decisions, and activities. As of September, 1974, the RSB is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. The RU is a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization.

APPENDIXREVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution," are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES-CHINA PEOPLES  
FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION(USCPFA)

The United States-China Peoples Friendship Association (USCPFA), formerly known as the United States-China Friendship Association, was founded during 1971 at San Francisco, California, primarily as a front group for pro-Chinese communist propaganda and a recruitment field for the Revolutionary Union (RU), a basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary organization. The USCPFA was previously comprised of loosely knit autonomous chapters and was instrumental in arranging delegations for travel to the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

The emergence of a national USCPFA organization followed a "National Founding Convention" held at Los Angeles, California, during the Fall of 1974. A statement of principles was adopted with the publicly stated aim of the USCPFA "to build active and lasting friendship based on mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of China," No formal headquarters has been established; however, a 16-member National Steering Committee, of whom approximately one-half are also RU members, is responsible for all policy matters concerning the USCPFA and publication of the organization's magazine "New China," with offices at 41 Union Square West, New York, New York. The national organization has now assumed responsibility for maintaining relationships with the appropriate PRC agencies regarding future travel delegations to the PRC. Some chapters of the USCPFA have been identified as being completely controlled or dominated by the RU.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-19743) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE  
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)  
IS  
(OO:CG)

DATE: 12/15/75

Re Cincinnati airtel to Bureau, dated 6/5/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 5 copies of an investigative summary, two copies of an FD-376 are attached.

One copy of the investigative summary is designated for Chicago, which is Office of Origin.

One copy each of this investigative summary being disseminated to the following agencies:

U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

Defense Investigative Service  
Post Office Box 416  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201

Fifth District, OSI  
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

902nd Military Intelligence Group  
Defense Construction Supply Center  
Detroit, Michigan

REC-25

2 - Bureau (Enc. **ENCLOSURE**)  
5 - Cincinnati  
(1-100-19743)  
(1-100-21818) (VVAW, Athens, Ohio)  
(1-100-18902) (VVAW, Columbus, Ohio)  
(1-100-20591) (VVAW, Cincinnati, Ohio)  
(1-100-20314) (VVAW, Dayton, Ohio)

7 DEC 22 1975

REC:gmb  
(7)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CI 100-19743

Investigation conducted since last report reveals that VVAW/WSO chapters in Athens, Dayton and Columbus, Ohio have ceased to function and are dissolved. The Cincinnati Chapter remains only slightly active, the members meeting only sporadically and infrequently. As the members of the four chapters have previously been identified, further investigation of this organization is not warranted at this time.

Contact will be maintained with informants and established sources for information indicating a reactivation of this organization and if so investigation will be reinstituted.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 15, 1975

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE  
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. ☐ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. ☐ Threatening or abusive statement about U. S. or foreign official.
4. ☐ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U. S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. ☐ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. ☐ Defector from U. S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. ☒ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☒ is not available.

Very truly yours,

  
Clarence M. Kelley  
Director

W/C/195      SP 6/2/75

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s)) (1)  
U. S. Secret Service , Cincinnati, Ohio

Enclosure(s)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio  
December 15, 1975

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)  
INTERNAL SECURITY

This investigation is based on information which indicates that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) (see appendix) is engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of the Government), (Sedition) and 793 (Espionage).

On February 1, 1975, a demonstration to protest unemployment was sponsored in part by the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO.

During the period February 10, 1975 until August 18, 1975, the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO had a total of 19 meetings, which were attended by as few as four members and as many as ten.

The Dayton, Columbus and Cincinnati Chapters of the VVAW/WSO were represented at the Regional Conference held in Akron, Ohio, February 8-9, 1975.

6/5/95 586/3a/11A

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

100-448092-4370

ENCLOSURE



RE: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
(VVAW/WSO)

On March 15, 1975, the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO sponsored a demonstration at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio.

At the Regional VVAW/WSO Conference held at Columbus, Ohio, on March 23, 1975, the Cincinnati, Columbus and Dayton Chapters of the VVAW/WSO were represented.

The Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO participated in a Revolutionary Union (RU) (see appendix) sponsored May Day, which was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 3, 1975.

On May 16, 1975, the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO sponsored a demonstration which was in support of the U. S. Ship Mayaguez being seized.

On May 31, 1975, the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO participated in a VVAW/WSO Regional Conference held in Detroit, Michigan.

On June 11, 1975, an educational forum was sponsored by the Cincinnati Chapter of the VVAW/WSO.

During the period January 22, 1975 until March 7, 1975, the Dayton Chapter of the VVAW/WSO has held seven meetings. On January 25, 1975, an anti-war social gathering was held by the Dayton Chapter of the VVAW/WSO.

On January 27, 1975, a demonstration was sponsored in part by the Dayton Chapter of the VVAW/WSO.

On March 7, 1975, the Dayton Chapter of the VVAW/WSO voted to disband.

## A P P E N D I X

### VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U. S. Involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974 portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the 12/74 NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designated to bring about violent revolution in the U.S.

### REVOLUTIONARY UNION

The Revolutionary Union (RU), founded in early 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area, is a militant semi-covert Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the People's Republic of China and the teachings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung. Its objectives as set forth in its theoretical publication, "The Red Papers," and in its monthly newspaper, "Revolution", are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Members of the RU have been identified as collecting weapons while engaging in firearms and guerrilla warfare training. As of July, 1974, RU national headquarters was located in Maywood, Illinois.

- 4\* -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE  
BOSTON COPY AVAILABLE



SAC, Boston

12/19/75

57C

Director, FBI (100-3-1)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)  
IS

Reurlet dated 8/4/75 captioned "Use of Personnel/  
Case Load."

\* In referenced letter you set out a list of organizations under investigation by your office. In particular on page 4 of referenced letter you listed the following organizations which you believed required additional informant coverage.

Socialist Workers Party  
Communist Party, USA  
Young Socialist Alliance  
Weatherman  
Spartacist League  
Revolutionary Union  
Young Workers Liberation League  
National Caucus of Labor Committees  
Vietnam Veterans Against the War  
Spartacist Youth League  
Workers Action Movement  
Revolutionary Student Brigade  
October League  
Party for Workers Power  
Prairie Fire Organizing Committee  
Red Book

EPG:dew  
(19)

100-448092-  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- 1 - Socialist Workers Party (100-16)      1 - Weatherman (176-1594)  
1 - Young Socialist Alliance (100-427226)  
1 - Spartacist League (100-441753)      1 - Red Book (157-18835)  
1 - Revolutionary Union (105-154366)      1 - October League (103-2100)  
1 - Young Workers Liberation League (100-455711)  
1 - National Caucus of Labor Committees (100-457751)  
1 - Vietnam Veterans Against the War (100-440022)  
1 - Spartacist Youth League (100-436300)  
1 - Workers Action Movement (100-470730)  
1 - Revolutionary Student Brigade (100-471207)  
1 - Party for Workers Power (100-479601)  
1 - Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (100-481695)

NOT RECORDED  
184 DEC 22 1975

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Letter to Boston  
Re: Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)  
100-3-1

You are requested to specifically advise FBI Headquarters as to the adequacy of your existing coverage of each of the above listed organizations. In the event you deem your coverage inadequate, you are also to advise what action you are taking to increase your informant coverage to a satisfactory level.

\*Your response concerning adequacy and/or plans of coverage should be under the individual organizational caption.

NOTE:

Pursuant to guidelines implemented under the Use of Personnel/Case Load project, Boston furnished a breakdown of its study on various phases of its investigative activity against subversive organizations. As part of its breakdown, Boston listed a total of 16 such organizations in which it was felt additional informant coverage was needed. That office is being requested to advise the Bureau of its progress in increasing informant coverage and its future plans along these lines.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 1/6/76

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-42739)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST  
THE WAR/ WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS

Re Bureau letter to Boston, 12/19/75, captioned  
"COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA), INTERNAL SECURITY."

ReBulet noted that Boston had indicated in its  
letter of 8/4/75, captioned "USE OF PERSONNEL/CASE LOAD"  
that VVAW required additional informant coverage in the  
Boston territory.

At the present time [REDACTED] who is a regional  
contact for VVAW/WSO, is furnishing information concerning  
activities of the organization within the territory covered  
by the Boston office. Every indication from this source is  
that the organization is a small and inactive satellite of  
the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), without whose support  
VVAW would probably cease to exist.

[REDACTED] has estimated total membership of  
VVAW/WSO in the six New England states as not more than  
ten people. Further, VVAW/WSO has had but one public  
demonstration in the Boston territory during the past year.  
This demonstration which took place in Boston, Mass., on  
11/11/75, was participated in by a total of four persons.

In the light of the above, Boston now believes  
that additional informant coverage of VVAW/WSO in the  
Boston area is not required. Boston will continue to follow

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Boston  
LG/em  
(3)

REC-23

100 - 448092 - 4371

Classified by 6320

Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

JAN 9 1976

59 JAN 19 1976



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BS 100-42739

the organization through coverage provided by [REDACTED] and upon noting an upsurge in membership and/or activity, will consider developing additional coverage at that time.

b2  
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 1/9/76

FROM : SAC, Milwaukee (100-15674) (P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE  
WAR/WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
IS - VVAW/WSO

00: Chicago

On 1/6/76, the December - January issue of "The Veteran" was reviewed and it was determined that captioned organization held a National Interim Committee (NIC) meeting in Detroit, Michigan, recently. In an article in their paper regarding the NIC meeting, it is stated that the name of the organization has again been changed, this time back to the original Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). The Milwaukee Division will leave it to the office of origin (Chicago) to change the name for investigative purposes.

The same article states that the "NIC enthusiastically decided to hold a national demonstration in Philadelphia on 7/4/76."

Another article in the same paper, entitled "Unite For Bicentennial Action," indicates the VVAW "will also be planning other actions around specific demands of vets for the days before July 4th, and hope that other groups will also plan actions on those days."

It would appear that VVAW will plan for a large mass action on July 4th, based on their past experience gained through their 7/4/74, mass demonstration in Washington, D. C.

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Chicago (100-50772)(RM)  
2-Milwaukee  
MJH:mhb  
(6)

REC-57 100-448092-4376

EX 104

JAN 20 1976



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Airtel

57C

To: SACS, Chicago (100-50772)  
 Boston (100-42739)  
 Los Angeles (100-77703)  
 Milwaukee (100-15674)  
 New York (100-160644)  
 Philadelphia (100-51647)

1/20/76

EX 104  
 From: Director, FBI (100-448092) - 4372

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
 WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
 IS-VVAW/WSO

ReMilet 1/9/76.

Referenced communication indicated that the December-January issue of "The Veteran" publication of captioned organization, reported that the National Interim Committee of VVAW recently decided to hold a national demonstration in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 7/4/76. This same publication indicated VVAW was "planning other actions around specific demands of vets for the days before 7/4."

Milwaukee, insure that Chicago Office has all information contained in the above article, including any details not provided in referenced Milwaukee letter. Chicago should immediately make efforts to determine the details of the national action planned by VVAW for 7/4/76 and any details of actions planned prior to that date. Information obtained, including all the details appearing in "The Veteran" articles, should be submitted promptly by Chicago to the Bureau and Philadelphia in form suitable for dissemination.

Recipients should be alert for information concerning the plans of VVAW in connection with the Bicentennial. Positive information should be expeditiously furnished the Bureau and appropriate offices in form suitable for dissemination.

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
 Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
 Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Training \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_

HPB:bmf  
 (17)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

59 JAN 28 1976

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York  
and Philadelphia  
Re: Vietnam Veterans Against the War/  
Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO)  
100-448092

NOTE:

By letter dated 1/9/76, the Milwaukee Office furnished a brief summary of information derived from a VVAW publication which concerned VVAW's Bicentennial plans. It is considered necessary to obtain more information about these plans and to promptly disseminate this information to appropriate authorities. Chicago is office of origin in this investigation and provides coverage of the National Office of VVAW.

VVAW, formed in 1967 to protest U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, has undergone several internal changes & is slowly diminishing in membership and activities. Currently, the National Office represents the residue of an organization which they describe as revolutionary in nature, not "just another group of war veterans." Since 12/74, it has been closely aligned with the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), (formerly the Revolutionary Union), which follows a strict Maoist line to bring about a violent revolution in the U.S. The Bureau is currently investigating a limited number of VVAW chapters. The investigations include only those chapters which are aligned with the VVAW National Office, and therefore, controlled by RCP thought and policy. The instructions set forth in this airtel are being given to the offices which are known to have active VVAW chapters controlled by the National Office.

FBI

Date: 12/30/75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092) b7C  
FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-42729) (P)  
SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS  
(OO: Chicago)

On 12/22/75, [REDACTED] a meeting of the VVAW/WSO, held at Boston, Mass., 12/26/75. At the meeting there was a discussion about plans for the VVAW/WSO members to attend the Bi-Centennial Celebration, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 7/4/76. Informant stated that plans were being made for some type of action to be taken by the VVAW/WSO at Philadelphia during 7, 76. b2  
b7D

Source was unable to determine the exact type of action planned, and informed that further plans will be discussed at subsequent meetings.

The above is sent to alert the Bureau and interested offices of the VVAW/WSO plans.

LEAD

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EX-112

Maintain contact with source to learn what type of action is planned at the Bi-Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia, and will alert interested offices at that time.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago (100-50772) (RM)  
2 - Philadelphia (100-52640) (RM)  
2 - Boston  
LG:mkm  
(5)

REC 8 100-448092-4323

4 JAN 2 1976

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

62 JAN 19 1976

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-074



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 1/5/76

FROM : SAC, HONOLULU (100-6941) (RUC)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
IS - VVAW/WSO

Re Bureau airtel to Honolulu dated 11/18/75,  
captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an  
LHM captioned VVAW/WSO. One copy is being enclosed for  
Chicago for information.

The letter and LHM are classified ~~Confidential~~ to  
protect sensitive sources.

The sources referred to in the LHM are identified  
as follows:

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED] is  
[REDACTED] is  
[REDACTED] is  
[REDACTED] is

100-6941-35

100-6967-131

100-6941-60

100-6967-144

CONFIDENTIAL

100-448092-4374

Classified by 119

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5)
  - 1 - Chicago (Enc. 1) (Info)
  - 1 - Honolulu
- JEM:kap  
(4)

JAN 10 1976  
FIVE

55 JAN 27 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] is  
[redacted] is

b2

100-6941-71

b7D

100-6941-76

As indicated in the enclosed LHM, chapter lists of the VVAW/WSO have, since at least 1973, mentioned a Hawaii Chapter under the International Section. Initially, this chapter was given as Liberated Barracks (LB), C/O [redacted] now V.V., recently the chapter has been carried as VVAW/WSO, [redacted] Pearl City, Hawaii. [redacted] is the address for [redacted] is [redacted]

57C

Honolulu files and sources disclose that she has been associated with anti-military and "GI coffee house" type causes since she was a high school student in Honolulu in 1969. She has been connected with the LB group since its founding in 1971.

The LB organization has become inactive in Hawaii; however, during the years 1971 to 1973, it was very active in anti-war demonstrations and so-called "GI issues" such as an end to the draft. These demonstrations centered around various military bases near Honolulu, Hawaii.

Along with [redacted] and one long associated with anti-military causes and "GI issues" was active in LB. [redacted] BUfile 100-461181 and HNfile 100-7112.

57C

The Honolulu investigation regarding LB was closed in 1973, when the Bureau advised in a communication dated 3/26/73, of the Bureau's long-standing policy of not conducting investigations of military personnel or civilian employees of the Department of the Defense engaged in activities relating to military-oriented revolutionary and extremist organizations, many of which are referred to as "GI coffee houses." Since LB appeared to be in this category, the letter directed Honolulu to discontinue investigation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This letter also noted that the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) advised the Bureau that they were conducting no investigation of LB as they considered it to be strictly anti-war, anti-military, and as such, no real threat to the Navy or security of the United States.

Investigation by Honolulu regarding [REDACTED] was discontinued in October, 1974, when it was determined that he did not meet revised ADEX criteria and had not engaged in violent or revolutionary-type activity. 57C

Honolulu files indicate that in May, 1974, the National Staff, VVAW/WSO, considered the Hawaii Chapter to be defunct. However, subsequent chapter listings continue to carry one for Hawaii under the lists International Section, albeit the street name is spelled incorrectly. There is no indication in Honolulu files that any representative from the Hawaii Chapter attended the VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee meeting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1974.

As pointed out in the LHM, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] the moving forces behind LB, continue the pattern of activity they have followed since 1971. During 1975, they have involved themselves in the Variable Re-enlistment Bonus (VRB) issue. During this period the name LB was dropped and the term VVAW/WSO appeared on leaflets distributed by the VRB although the telephone number for LB was given as that of VVAW/WSO. The number is listed to [REDACTED] 1  
57C

The source referred to in the LHM as providing NIS with information regarding VRB meetings and the presence there of [REDACTED] b6  
57C

which was outlined in Honolulu teletype to the Bureau dated 11/4/75, captioned "UNSUBS (2); VISITORS TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA."

On 11/10/75, NIS also advised that [REDACTED] referred to in the LHM as a U.S. Navy enlisted man active in the VRB movement, is also [REDACTED] at the Pearl Harbor Naval Base (1974), [REDACTED] is allegedly the source of statements regarding revolution and the fact, "People must get hurt," which are mentioned in referenced Bureau airtel. b6  
57C  
1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Activity of the VVAW/WSO chapter in Hawaii, in 1975, has been limited to so-called "GI issues" and has centered on the VRB group. VRB demonstrations have been peaceful. The Hawaii Chapter continues to operate through the efforts of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as it has in the past under the name LB. Available data from Honolulu sources and NIS indicates that the activity is centered on resolving the VRB issue in U.S. courts, although the group's meetings also are concerned with various social and political issues unrelated to the VRB. None of the activity in which literature attributed to the VVAW/WSO has been distributed has been violent. b7C

As mentioned previously, the National Staff of VVAW/WSO considered the Hawaii Chapter defunct in 1974 and NIS sources have reported that [REDACTED] has referred to herself as a past member of VVAW or has been unclear in her affiliation with VVAW. No information has been reported bearing on a close connection between the National Office of VVAW/WSO and the Hawaii Chapter. b7C

Honolulu has not developed information to indicate that the current activity of VVAW/WSO in Hawaii has been violent or has advocated violent revolutionary means. The Chapter is essentially the efforts of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as has been the case for the past three-to-five years. There is no indication that they have, in the past, engaged in violent activity or advocated revolution. b7C

Accordingly, UACB, Honolulu is closing its investigation of the captioned group as it does not appear to advocate Marxism-Leninism and is apparently acting in a legitimate protest capacity, i.e., the VRB movement involving U.S. Naval personnel in quest of bonus money from the Navy through action in U.S. Federal court.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HN 100-6941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED] is identified as  
[REDACTED]  
Hawaiian Telephone Company  
Honolulu, Hawaii

b2  
b7D  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Honolulu, Hawaii

January 5, 1976

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

On April 11, 1973, [REDACTED] advised that a list of the VVAW organization (see appendix) chapters contained the following listing under International Chapters: Liberated Barracks, C/O [REDACTED] Street, Apartment [REDACTED] Honolulu, Hawaii.

b2  
b7D  
b7C

Liberated Barracks (LB) was a group formed in Honolulu in early 1971. Its aims were to end the war in Southeast Asia, better treatment for GI's, and an end to the draft. The LB sponsored anti-war rallies at Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1971 and 1972. The group became inactive in 1974.

On October 16, 1973, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] the so-called [REDACTED] was attempting to gain support for a soldier confined at Fort Belvoir Barracks, Hawaii, by speaking to gatherings at the University of Hawaii and distributing a newspaper captioned, "Liberated Barracks." This source previously advised on August 9, 1973, that [REDACTED] had arrived in Honolulu on August 3, 1973, to assist LB in its efforts to assist and support GI's in Hawaii.

b2  
b7D  
b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 119

Exempt from GDS/Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-448092-4374

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

b2  
b7D

On May 24, 1974, [REDACTED] advised that a current analysis of VVAW/WSO regions by the organization's National Staff contained the comment that the VVAW/WSO office maintained in Kailua, Hawaii, was for all practical purposes considered defunct.

On October 9, 1974, a representative of the Naval Investigative Service (NIS), Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, Kaneohe, Hawaii, advised that two individuals were noted passing out a newsletter outside the main gate of the Air Station. The newsletter, captioned, "GI News," stated it was a publication of the VVAW/WSO.

b2  
b7D

On April 7, 1975, [REDACTED] advised that a list of the chapters of the VVAW/WSO contained the following under the description "International Chapters:" Liberated Barracks, 525 North Kalaheo Avenue, Kailua, Hawaii, 96734, telephone 261-4855 or 262-5764.

On June 5, 1975, a representative of NIS, Pearl Harbor Naval Base (PHNB), Honolulu, Hawaii, advised that on May 27, 1975, individuals, presumed to be civilians, handed out leaflets on the Naval Base which exhorted sailors to join together under the sponsorship of VVAW/WSO to press for court action to reinstate the Variable Re-enlistment Bonus (VRB). The leaflet carried the telephone number 261-4855. This number was assigned to the residence at 525 North Kalaheo Avenue, Kailua, Hawaii. This residence and telephone number had previously been determined to be those utilized by LB. [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] The VVAW/WSO was described in the leaflet as a support group working with VRB.

Variable Re-enlistment Bonus (VRB) group in Hawaii is comprised primarily of U.S. Naval enlisted men assigned to the Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Honolulu, Hawaii, who are attempting through the U.S. courts to have the U.S. Navy pay re-enlistment bonuses to military personnel.

b2  
b7D

During July, 1975, [REDACTED] advised that the July, 1975 list of chapters of the VVAW/WSO organization contained the following entry under International Chapters: VVAW/WSO, 1990 Aamara Place, Pearl City, Hawaii, 96782, telephone 456-3894.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

On September 26, 1975, a representative of NIS, PHNB, Honolulu, Hawaii, advised that a NIS source, which NIS characterized as of apparent reliability, learned that the meetings of the VRB group occur weekly at 1990 Lawaika Place, Honolulu, Hawaii. The source learned that [REDACTED] was retained by the VRB group to press its suit against the U.S. Government. The meetings are staffed by a group associated with VRB and some of those who attended the meetings are either past or present members of the VVAW/WSO. The meetings are educational in nature, but the source noted a tendency by those controlling the meetings to move from the VRB question to other social and political issues in the United States. U.S. Navy enlisted man [REDACTED] who is assigned to the PHNB, and who has been active in the VRB cause, has taken a leadership role with the group that is associating with VRB personnel. b7C b7D

This source further advised that a white female named [REDACTED] (Last Name Unknown) (LNU), and two other civilians who control discussions at the meetings, had stated at a meeting on September 3, 1975, that they were once associated with the VVAW/WSO. b7C b7D

The NIS source advised that U.S. Navy enlisted man [REDACTED] and his wife have stated, in the past, that it would take too long a time to educate the American people and that direct action is the only solution. They stated that in revolution, "People must get hurt." b7C b7D

The source also learned that [REDACTED] has attended VRB meetings and that [REDACTED] (LNU) has been active in assisting GI's for many years. It was also determined that she had been affiliated with the VVAW/WSO. She did not indicate a present connection with that organization. The VRB active membership has dwindled to about 30 persons in recent months. b7C b7D

On October 31, 1975, an article appearing in the "Honolulu Star-Bulletin," a Honolulu daily newspaper, captioned "Protestors Call Sub Death Trap," stated that the alleged

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

unseaworthiness of the submarine "USS Haddock" was the subject of a demonstration by two civilian groups claiming to represent 30 U.S. Navy enlisted men. The group distributed leaflets at the main gate to PHNB. The leaflets referred to the "USS Haddock" as a death trap. The organizations making the charges were described in the article as the VVAW and the WSO.

On November 3, 1975, a representative of the NIS, PHNB, Honolulu, Hawaii, advised that a demonstration regarding alleged unsafe conditions aboard the submarine "USS Haddock" occurred on October 30, 1975, outside the Base's main gate. Three individuals, two females and one male, passed out leaflets referring to the alleged unsafe conditions aboard the submarine.

The NIS representative also advised that it was learned from a NIS source, not further identified, that members of the crew of the "USS Haddock" had requested the assistance of the VRB group for the demonstration conducted on October 30, 1975.

NIS also reported that one of the females involved in the leafletting was also one of the participants in leafletting by the VRB in July, 1975, at PHNB. Vehicles utilized by the three individuals passing out leaflets were determined to be registered to U.S. Naval personnel assigned to PHNB.

The leaflets read in part, "...if you support our fight against unsafe working conditions, have a similar problem yourself, or just want more information, contact VVAW/WSO, telephone 456-3894..."

The demonstration was peaceful and without incident. Also participating and holding a picket-type sign, were nine individuals identified as members of the crew of the "USS Haddock."

On November 24, 1975, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Honolulu, Hawaii, utilizing a suitable pretext, telephonically contacted the 456-3894 number, mentioned above, as listed to the VVAW/WSO, 1990 Aamara Place, Pearl City, Hawaii. A female, who identified herself as [REDACTED] b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

advised that LB was no longer active, and that the organization's work was being done by a few individuals associated with VVAW/WSO. She advised that present emphasis was on informing military personnel of legal steps to take in gaining benefits under the VRB program.

On November 24, 1975, [REDACTED] advised that telephone number 456-[REDACTED] was listed to [REDACTED] Pearl City, Hawaii. A review of the Directories for the Island of Oahu (which includes Pearl City and Honolulu), revealed no listing for an [REDACTED] b2 b7D

On November 28, 1975, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is associated with a group which is [REDACTED] with military personnel in Honolulu. [REDACTED] has been active in anti-war groups in the past. Meetings of the VRB group are held at [REDACTED] house at [REDACTED] Pearl City, Hawaii, and some individuals attending these meetings refer to themselves as members of the VVAW/WSO.

On December 1, 1975, a representative of NIS, PHNB, Honolulu, Hawaii, advised that persons associated with the VRB handed out leaflets near the main gate of PHNB. The leaflets referred to VRB court action to secure re-enlistment bonuses from the U.S. Navy. The demonstration was peaceful.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER  
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)  
INTERNAL SECURITY

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the 12/74 NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the U.S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448092)

DATE: 1/8/76

FROM : ADIC, LOS ANGELES (100-77703)(P)

SUBJECT: VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
IS - VVAW/WSO  
OO: Chicago

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP  
DATE 1/10/76

Re Bureau teletype to Los Angeles, Chicago and  
San Francisco 11/7/75, captioned, "M-VVAW/WSO".

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and for  
Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco, appropriate copies of  
a confidential LHM dated and captioned as this communication.

Confidential classification assigned to LHM  
to make more secure a Bureau source of  
continuing value.

Source One is [redacted] who furnished information  
to SA [redacted] on 11/6, 10, 19/75 and 12/31/75.

DECLASSIFIED COPY

*Do not disseminate  
Need amended pgs.*

1209

INDEFINITE

2

Indefinite

REC-53

100-448092-4375

22 JAN 16 1976

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5)(RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-50772)(Enc. 2)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-71012)(Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - St. Louis (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles

CMP/svj  
(8)



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

January 8, 1976

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
IS - VVAW/WSO

On November 6, 1975, Source One reported that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), a characterization of which is attached in appendix hereto, planned a regional conference of the organization at San Jose, California, either on the weekend of November 8 - 9, 1975, or November 15 - 16, 1975. Source was, subsequently, able to state that this regional conference would be held at Santa Cruz, California, during the weekend of November 15 - 16, 1975.

According to Source One, on November 19, 1975, the following was the scheduled agenda for the aforementioned regional conference on Saturday, November 15, 1975, and Sunday, November 16, 1975:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP  
DATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY 1209  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION 2  
EXEMPTION CODE Indefinite

FILED BY

7-26-77

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100-448092-4375

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VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/  
WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION  
IS - VVAW/WSO

According to source, the Saturday session of the conference was held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, California - College V. The Sunday, November 16, 1975, session was held in the downtown section of Santa Cruz, California, at a place identified by source as the Veterans Cooperative located in the Veterans of Foreign Wars Building. Source summarized the sessions as attended by approximately forty people. The major directing force of the conference appeared to be Jeanne Freidman of the San Francisco area. Other conference members who participated to a noticeable degree were identified by source as Joanne Nelson, [REDACTED] Santa Cruz, California; Earl Ferguson of San Jose, California; Bob Trowler (phonetic) of Berkley, California and a person believed by source to be Dave Pollack of St. Louis, Missouri. Additionally, a Jane and [REDACTED] (last name unknown), residence of [REDACTED] Santa Cruz, California, were participants at the conference. 57C

It was source's observation that the conference was not well organized and was concerned mainly with the security of the organization and whether the group representing the VVAW/WSO view was one step away from mass and cadre work and whether the organization could continue to function effectively.

Source further informed that a national clearing house for the VVAW/WSO was suggested as being furthered as a result of the regional conference held previously in St. Louis, Missouri, and that this national clearing house would attempt to publish a monthly newsletter and attempt to effect good communication between various chapters. Source One noted that items on the agenda eventually switched to a general discussion on how to finance the various plans and desires of the VVAW/WSO and that no fixed responsibility or plan evolved from any of the items in discussion.

On December 31, 1975, Source One was able to provide a xerox copy of the November 15 - 16, 1975, meetings of the regional conference of the WSO/NAIC held at Santa Cruz, California. A xerox copy of this material as provided by source is affixed hereto. Source noted that this information

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summarized the general topics of discussion as outlined on the conference agenda.

Source specifically noted that in these meetings that it is indicated as of December 14, 1975, that it was contemplated that at a regional conference of the organization scheduled for January 3, 1976, at San Jose, California, that there was only one major topic of discussion, namely "should the WSO continue as an organization".

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Regional Conference  
Santa Cruz, CA

WFO-HAUG

Nov. 15-16 1975

MINUTES

Sat. Chapter Reports: given in written form -- questions:

S.C. has formed a collective, which is open. Trying to develop political unity.  
E.B. question on Swords to Ploughshares conference.  
S.F. National liberation Support Com decided to work on Puerto Rico. Developed core group. Chief problems are that people in chapter giving a lot of coordinating and leadership so they haven't had opportunity to participate in one aspect like the role of military spending in P.R.

Regional Report: dues to region have not been good. There is \$30. in account, and a total debt of \$1300., \$1300. of which is for postwar.

National Clearinghouse: minutes from St. Louis went out last week. Twin Cities has folded -- some people felt that others were pulling them too fast, attacked in chapter about direction of organization. Apparently contradictions with various causes, but no substantive report on this. The internal women's newsletter will not be coming from the Twin Cities. The next national conf. was also scheduled to be there. Have written to chapters for ideas about this. Buffalo, as far as we know, is not part of the organization, although is in regular touch. Self Lake City is still a chapter, we have had no response to question about why they keep using WWM/. Pennsylvania NIO is interested in, but not part of, WFO-HAUG. The NCH is preparing paper on split in WWM/NSC. Financially, California is supporting NCH, except for St. Louis and 1 person in Miami. NCH has no money.

Southern Calif: Communication is a major problem. South Bay's 2 fur-rience flopped. Study group is on-going, with one non-chapter member, and several others. Study group is strong point. Working on Scott-Smith defense committee. Beginning work on Ivonne Marquez.

Nominations for R.C. and Sub R.C.

San Jose: Jill (SF) for SAC, Michael (SF) and David (SJ) for RC, Karen (MP) to coordinate. Mid-P: David (SJ) RC  
S.F.: Michael (SF) SC.

Hard Times Conf: Endowment of Hard Times Conf., and sending a staff person to work on it locally. Passed 19 - 0. People interested in going would form work group to ensure they get there, to be coordinated through NSC.

Nominations for Coordinators still open.

Break into small discussion groups on the proposals that NIO adopt an anti-militarist focus and an intermediate form. Each group is to consider 4 questions: what is the role of mass work and mass campaigns; what tools and concepts do we use to build intermediate org; what is our constituency; and what is the role of study.

Three small discussion groups that took place, followed by reports from each group. Only one report was turned in for these minutes:

The discussion on mass work centered around the need to develop a specific base in our communities. Without such a base, it was felt that the anti-militarist program would fail. Historically, all members were required to do mass work, and

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work around FVS, STD and the war served immediate needs of the people. We analyzed our various areas of work, and found that all were, to some degree involved in working class organizing in our communities. We discussed program in terms of an overall direction rather than a specific campaign. We were unclear as to the validity of a purely educational style of work until it was pointed out that organizing was possible around cut-backs in social services, tying in the demands for military cut-backs with these demands. We lacked consensus about the precise definition of program but agreed general that we should have an anti-militarism program and an intermediate form.

There was floor discussion on the proposals for the rest of Saturday afternoon. There was a lack of clarity on what an intermediate form meant, on having study as part of the program, and on what the anti-militarism focus meant in terms of all our work--was it to be broadly or narrowly defined. No resolution was reached.

#### SUNDAY:

Women's Caucus: followed by a report from that caucus:

First, a criticism that people were not confronting others directly with political differences; that our emphasis in struggle should be for unity, that our criticisms should be directed to the party responsible.

Second, a proposal that we consider and unite around a 4 point program: community work, solidarity work, a mass campaign around the military budget and general study (not specifically Marxist-Leninist study). That we drop the previously planned workshops and move into small discussion groups to struggle around this program, and to specifically work on plans for the anti-militarism campaign. With the addition that amnesty work be considered also as part of the anti-militarism campaign, this was adopted.

Report from Group 1: The first part of the discussion centered around whether to add amnesty or GI work as choices for possible mass campaigns. After some discussion, it became clear that amnesty and GI work would not be good issues for a mass campaign in every chapter, but that a "Serve The People, Not the Pentagon" campaign could be applied in every chapter. We were in favor of the women's caucus proposal with the addition that we should encourage chapters to do amnesty work.

We then focussed on how to put together the mass campaign. We recognized that we needed to do research on the military and social services budgets before we could put out effective propaganda. We also thought that linking up with our working with other organizations that are doing the same things would help get the work done, but that we were able to develop our own forms of organization to implement the mass campaign where necessary. We also felt that a regional organizing committee was necessary to consolidate and collect materials. Some possible organizing slogans were mentioned: "No More Vietnams", "Cut Military Spending, Not Social Services", "Jobs Not Bombs", "No More Wars for Profit".

We then discussed amnesty. Vince and East Bay agreed to concretize ideas on how to work on amnesty. A couple of sources of information: the old vvaaw/uso position paper, and the Oct-Nov of ANEX-Canada (75).

Then we discussed the developing of a contact list similar to that of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Comm. The PRSC memo on their organizing methods should be obtained and studied, as it contains good, concrete organizing suggestions that could help us in our work.

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Report from Group 2: agreed with group 1, and added that constituencies could be social service recipients, unemployed, social workers, and students. Saw the need for region-wide investigation. Possible issues: Puerto Rican (Operation Springboard), the B-1 bomber, nuclear disarmament, preparation for war, and runaway shops. Two possible ways to develop amnesty work are UUA pamphlets, and in support for HCUUA.

Report from Group 3: recommends one campaign, and adds slogans: "Cut Warfare, Not Welfare", "Cut Military Spending, Restore Social Services", "No More Wars For Profit", "Health Care, Not Warfare". Recommends working for public jobs and training, and ending aid to military regimes. Proposed that we develop definite membership criteria and become more mass in our organizing. Also that the BSC plus chapters in the north take responsibility for developing common propaganda.

Following these reports, the women's caucus proposal for a mass anti-militarism campaign, and the 4-point program were adopted unanimously by chapter vote.

There was then discussion of implementation, and both Regional coordination and chapter autonomy.

Form: This discussion centered around the concept of intermediate form for the organization. There was initial confusion around the concept in terms of membership requirements, study, relationship to mass organizations and internal discipline. The question of membership requirements was resolved in that membership requirements do not change but we have a de facto limitation on recruitment in terms of the level of chapter discussion that would preclude effective mass input. What is necessary is that we join and create mass forms that will allow us to selectively develop membership. Study must be developed on a regional basis, with regional coordination, with M-L study encouraged but not required. It was put forward that intermediate form in terms of mass struggles means organizational leadership of mass struggles (SCEF or a council of shop stewards). We are not present a mass form, and should recognize that we are moving in an intermediate direction, although not yet there. Several chapters felt that the only reason we were no longer mass in character was because we lacked program, and that we would regain that character through our new program. It was also seen that our new program, with 4 areas, and including study, was not a mass program, and reflected a higher level of unity. The mass campaigns would certainly be of that character. The intermediate form would also clarify the relationship of solidarity work to the chapters, as there was some existing confusion about this. It was also emphasized that there is a difference between consciousness and organizational form, and that the primary thing was consciousness.

Vote on intermediate form of organization: EB- 5 no; S. Barb.- 3 Yes; SF- 3 yes, 1 no, 1 abs.; SC- 4 yes, 1 no; SJ- 4 yes, 1 no; SB- 4 yes, 1 abs.; MP- 5 yes. Total -- 23 1/2 yes, 7 1/2 no, 2 abs.

Sexism Objective: The discussion was around the concepts of sexism and male supremacy; the distinction between the two was made to differentiate between institutions and modes of behavior (sexism), and the ideology that sustains the institutions and behavior (male supremacy). A parallel was drawn between racism and white supremacy. It was also stressed that we always fall short of consensus.

in our objectives, and we should see this as a goal. No other objectives were put forward for adoption.

The San Jose proposal for sexism objective: chapter vote: 20 yes, 1 no, 1 abs.

Proposal on abolition of sub-regional coordinators: SF- 4 yes, 1 no; SJ- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  yes, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  no; SC- 5 no; MP- 5 abs. Total- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  yes, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  no, 5 abs. Defeated, and goes back to chapters.

Announcements: Denise from SB is taking car to HT conference, with Janelle and David so far. Jill from SF is possible staff member for HT locally. Barbara from SC has Okinawa GI slide show. SF has Vietnam Liberation slide show.

Next Regional Conf. March 20 - 21 SF

For next RSC and Women's Caucus, see below.

Criticism-Self criticism:

More information and preparation should have been done in advance, but feel that program is a step forward; positive crit for for women's caucus; for logistics, and for southern Calif attendance; for childcare in general, adding that non-members should have been recruited for it, so that all could attend critical discussions; and negative crit for RSC for not clearly defining program proposal in a clearer way so that anti-militarism work was one part of it, not all of it, which was confusing on Saturday. General feeling that women's caucus resolved and unified with their proposal.

END OF MINUTES

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To: all chapters

14 December 1975

The planned RSC meeting yesterday did not happen because only SF and SJ showed up. As many of you may know, the organization has been disintegrating since the Regional Conference. MP has formally dissolved, because of the members living too far apart from each other to work in an ongoing way; EB is functioning only by committees, not as a chapter; SC is way down in attendance; SJ has been unable to plan out some work. Both SF and Santa Barbara have been making progress.

The Next RSC is on Saturday, January 3rd, at 11 a.m. in San Jose. There will be only one topic to discuss - should WSO continue as an organization, and if not, how are we to dissolve, where do we recommend people working, and what kind of contact do we want to set up. If we are to continue, we must analyze what is happening and why, and how to change our current situation. We hope every chapter can attend.

The women from MP want to keep having the women's caucus meet there. The next one is Saturday, January 10th, in Mt. View, at 337 Thompson, Carole's house - 964-7165. Please let her know if your chapter is coming or not, by the week in advance.

In struggle and solidarity,

jeanne f.

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APPENDIX

VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR/WINTER  
SOLDIER ORGANIZATION (VVAW/WSO)

The VVAW, formed in 1967 by Vietnam veterans to protest U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (changed name to VVAW/WSO in 1973 to include non-veterans as members), has sponsored numerous anti-government demonstrations, some resulting in violence. The VVAW/WSO National Office (NO) and some key chapters are infiltrated and influenced by the militant Revolutionary Union (RU) organization, and VVAW/WSO leaders have told members that VVAW/WSO is a revolutionary organization, not "just another group of war veterans." The current Marxist-Leninist-Maoist oriented NO, which promotes education of the membership in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine and directs the organization into political growth along the same lines, has at VVAW/WSO National Steering Committee Meetings (NSCM), in 1974, portrayed VVAW/WSO as a mass anti-imperialist organization and a vanguard of the revolution eventually created by the masses.

VVAW/WSO leaders voted at the 12/74 NSCM to align VVAW/WSO with the RU, which organization follows a strict Maoist line designed to bring about violent revolution in the U.S.

APPENDIX

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